

CABINET

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CABINET

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Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet

**Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources**

**From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection**

HEAT.

Miscellaneous Items.

AN HONOR DECLINED.—Mr. Lincoln, through a friend, formally tendered Hon. Wm. A. Graham, of North Carolina, a place in his cabinet. Mr. Graham sends a letter declining, and saying that his taking the place will not restore peace to the country.

Atlas & Argus.

THURSDAY MORNING, JAN. 15, 1860.

Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet.

Simon Cameron has been tendered, and has accepted, a post in the new Cabinet. The letter of Mr. Lincoln making the tender, has been read by a number here, and there is not a shadow of doubt that Gen. Cameron will hold the Treasury seals from and after the 4th of March next.—*Philadelphia Press Correspondent.*

The telegraph announces that Senator CAMERON has declined the proposed appointment. The N. Y. *Tribune* gives an offensive color to the transaction by implying that Mr. C. was rejected, upon reconsideration, by the President elect. It says:

That Mr. Cameron will be a Minister of the incoming President is not now so certain. We feel ourselves authorized in stating that since his letter to that gentleman was written, Mr. Lincoln has received information which has materially altered his purpose with regard to the proposed appointment for Pennsylvania. He now deems himself at liberty to reconsider it.

There are many rumors in regard to the motive that has prompted the change of programme; and to the intrigues by and in behalf of the Pennsylvania Senator, and against him.

The *Journal* of last night, announces the acceptance by Mr. SEWARD of the post of Premier—Secretary of State—in Mr. LINCOLN'S Cabinet. The place was tendered him, early in December, and he has kept the offer since under advisement, and after consulting those “on whose affection and judgment he is accustomed to rely,” has concluded to accept it. This will open the vacancy in the Senate to the general competition of the Republicans.

We do not look upon the selection of the champion of the Higher Law, and Irrepressible Conflict doctrine, as a good omen for Mr. LINCOLN'S administration. He is a man to stir up contentions, not to compose strife. In all his long career, what one beneficent act, one practical measure of legislation has he identified himself with? His record is not a barren one; but it is fruitful only of harvests of sedition and of class and sectional animosities, of which he has sown broadcast the seeds.

R. S. Webb, Esq., Boston

SPECULATION AS TO LINCOLN'S CABINET.—A dispatch from Springfield, Ill., (the home of Mr. Lincoln,) to the New York *Times*, says that speculation is rife among prominent politicians most intimate with the President elect, and supposed therefore to be well-informed as to his probable course. The composition of his cabinet is freely canvassed, and the following are the names most prominently mentioned:

For Secretary of State, Wm. H. Seward, of New York; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Wm. C. Rives, of Virginia. For Secretary of the Interior, John Bell, of Tennessee. For Secretary of War, Cassius M. Clay, of Ky. For Postmaster General, Schuyler Colfax, of Ind., —Chandler, of Michigan. For Secretary of the Navy, John Minor Botts, of Virginia. For Attorney General, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland.

No. 30,1860

A report comes from Washington, to the effect
that Gen. Houston will be tendered the War Depart-
ment by Mr. Lincoln.

The rumor of Mr. Macready's return to the stage
is renewed. It is also stated by the English jour-
nals that Macready's young wife is about to tread
the boards.

10/31/60
Business is lively on the corn market

BOSTON ADV

True Dealer Journal Dec 5.

Cabinet Speculations

N.Y. dealers always correspond
Colfax and Post Master gen. X
Bates Mo. Secy of State X
Judd Ill. X } Secy of Treas or Intern.
Ogden Ill.
Schenck Ill. X
Corin Ill.
Giat. Ill.
Stephens Ill. X
Stevens Penn X
Ashmun Mass X
Seward will not be offered
Morgan Gov.

My Independent
Cofax and Postmaster
(Gen) Tribune Jan 16.
Seward N.Y. State
Chase Ohio Treas.
Bates Mo. ally Gen.
Cameron Pa. War.
Scott. Va. Navy
Graham D.C. Intern.
Wells Conn. P. M.

Ancient commercial Feb 1 1861

Song Cather against Caleb Smith for cabinet

No Colfax deliver no less than 92 species for Mr Lincoln.

Ancient Fayette Dec 21

Jessender Me. Secy of State

X Bates Mo. Ally General

Dayton N.Y. Secy of Treas

X Cameron Penn. Secy War

Harris Ind. Navy

Clay Ky } Intern.
Carter Ohio }

Colfax Ind. }
Smith " } P. G.
Judd Ill. }

Chase not to number

Independent Jonesville Nov 1st
Seward Secy Stat
Clay War
Cameron Treas
Forbes Intern
Fremont Navy
Bates. Ally Gen

National Eagle Clermont N.H.
Dec 6
Colfax. Ind.

Clay Ky War
Gow. Penn. Intern.
Bates, Mo. Secy Stat
Corwin

Seward will not accept

Springfield, Ill.
November 9th, 1860

N. Sargent, Esq.

Dear Sir:

I have duly received your letter of the 4th inst. Will you please to write to me by return mail and give me the name of the Republican whom Judge Campbell suggested for Secretary of State?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln

A. p 257

Springfield, Illinois, December 29, 1860

Hon. William Cullen Bryant.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 25th is duly received. The "well-known politician" to whom I understand you to allude did write me, but did not press upon me any such compromise as you seem to suppose, or, in fact, any compromise at all.

As to the matter of the cabinet, mentioned by you, I can only say I shall have a great deal of trouble, do the best I can. I promise you that I shall unselfishly try to deal fairly with all men and all shades of opinion among our friends.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

WH I p 662

A small weekly paper, called the Independent, published at least a month before the above slates appeared in its contemporaries, made one of the best ~~guessed~~ on the make up of the cabinet, picking three of the six prospects, ~~as~~ named. Its choices were: Seward, Clay, Cameron, Forbes, Fremont, and Bates or three out of six nominees. The selection of the President, confirmed by the Senate, was as follows: Seward, Secretary of State; Chase, Secretary of the Treasurer; Wells, Secretary of the Navy; Bates, Attorney General; Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General; Smith, Secretary of the Interior; Cameron, Secretary of War.

The Cincinnati Gazette selected: Fessenden of Maine; Bates of Missouri; Dayton of New Jersey; Cameron of Pennsylvania; Davis of Maryland; Clay of Kentucky or Carter of Ohio; and Colfax of Indiana, with Smith of Indiana and Judd of Illinois as alternates. It emphasized the statement that: "Chase would not be a member." This was a little better percentage, having three out of ten chosen.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State.
Hon. Simon P. Chase, Secretary of Treasury.
Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.
Hon. Gideon Wells, Secretary of the Navy.
Hon. Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General.
Hon. Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior.
Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney General.

The votes were unanimous for all except Bates and Blair, four or five votes being cast against each of these gentlemen, that number objecting to them because they were unwilling that any one from Slave States should go into the Cabinet.

A large crowd assembled around the doors anxious to hear the result of the session.

[From our Regular Correspondent.]

Walls from Washington.

The Lincoln Cabinet—Disappointed Congressmen—Appointments to office—Recommendations—Office Brokers—No hushing up—Armorial bearings for South Carolina—The Day we Celebrate—Prospects.

WASHINGTON Jan. 8, 1861.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

The selections made by Mr. Lincoln in composing his Cabinet are generally acceptable here, although there are, of course, disappointed men. Those who it is understood have been called to the national council-table are gentlemen of distinguished talent, enlarged experience in public affairs, and well calculated to redeem the departments from the condition into which they have of late fallen. Above all, they are men of truly national views, and they will counsel the administration of the government so as to gradually put an end to sectional strife, and to effect a restoration of tranquility by a full recognition of the constitutional rights of all sections. They are not men who will be charged, under any circumstances, with a lack of devotion to Republican principles, yet a majority are none the worse for having been reared in the old Whig school, where they acquired the great principles of political economy which have done so much to make our country prosperous. The citizens of those States which remain in the Union may count on an economical administration of the government, a strict construction of the Constitution, and an equitable execution of the laws. Those who "secede" may depend upon receiving justice, tempered with mercy.

Of course, as I remarked above, there are disappointed men, who grumble more or less. Some of them evidently feel that their superior qualifications have been passed over, and others had counted upon having more "friends at court" than they find that they are to have, thus diminishing their chances for rewarding political friends for services rendered. It is to be regretted that some members of Com. re's gang—the merits and qualifications of candidates by the activity displayed by them during the last Congressional election.

It is not yet certain that any changes will be made by the incoming administration, for no one can tell exactly what will happen within the next sixty days. But there is great reason to believe that the gentlemen invited to the cabinet will have a delicate, difficult, and perplexing task to perform, in discriminating in regard to applicants for appointment. Two of them have already declared that they will not blindly make appointments in accordance with the dictation of State or local committees, or members of Congress, and thus perpetuate party oligies.

This will be apt to give general satisfaction, yet applicants will do well to secure all the influence they can, for it cannot be expected that the appointing power can be personally overruled with the merits or demerits of each one desiring appointment. The Secretaries will therefore be forced to rely upon the representations of those of the viofrage with whose probability and honor (as well as party standing) they are acquainted, and upon whose assurance they can rely.

All asked to sign petitions should pause and learn who are to be the candidates for the position sought, before endorsing any one. By lending their names judiciously or indiscriminately, they will not only mislead the person who has the appointment to bestow, but induce others to aid in the deception—it being a well known fact that when the excuse of precedent can be given, it is in no wise difficult to obtain scores and hundreds of signers. A dozen good sealed letters will be worth a thousand signatures.

We have "office-brokers" here, who have turned from the lobby to prey on those seeking place, and it is to be hoped that their position will at once be appreciated at the Department's. Any candidate who would see one of these Jeremy Diddlers, would so forget himself as to write to Washington correspondents, and beg them not to mention that the writer was an applicant for office. It is only in South Carolina that the press is muzzled, and correspondents who have chronicled Democratic struggles for office, will now give their Republican states. Why not?

A gentleman in this city has addressed a polite letter to the Governor of South Carolina, alluding to the resolution prescribing for the establishment by law of a seal, with heraldic device and motto, for the state's sovereignty, and suggesting that they be taken from the description in the accompanying paragraph extracted from a speech delivered by Judge Butler in the Senate, in 1853:

"I have seen in a book of heraldry, ambition represented by a serpent crawling up a smooth column of dangerous and difficult ascent, the danger increasing with the progress of the ascent, and these significant words issuing from its mouth: "Sicut scire si sit justo." This is applicable to more passions than ambition, and inculcates a lesson of wisdom and caution."

The salutes of to day, in honor of General Jackson and Major Anderson, have not been at all acceptable to the traitors who wear secession cockades. It is generally believed that Secretary Thompson is no longer confined by *Indian binds* to the administration, and the quicker Thomas follows suit, the better it will be for the country.

News of an engagement in Charleston harbor when the Star of the West shall have arrived is anxiously looked for. In the meantime prominent statesmen are at work endeavoring to get the Ship of State before the wind again, and to have all quiet before Captain Lincoln mounts the quarter-deck. How they can all the troubled and excessively dirty waters of political strife your correspondent cannot see.

FARLEY.

BY TELEGRAPH

TO THE *March 2, 1861*

BOSTON DAILY EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

More Federal Property Seized in Texas.

THE CASE OF TWIGGS.

Withdrawal of Senators Hennepin and Wigfall.

MR. LINCOLN'S CABINET.

NORTH CAROLINA FOR THE UNION.

New York, 2d. (Times Correspondence.) Despatches from the Richmond Convention announce that the secession ordinance is drafted, and will probably pass and go to the people with the inaugural.

Mr. Tyler is doing all in his power to throw Virginia out of the Union, and it is believed he will succeed if the inaugural suggests coercion.

The House Committee on Ways and Means have rejected the Senate amendment to the Post Office bill, transferring the Butterfield Mail Company to the Central route.

Welsh, chief clerk of the Navy department, vacates today. Secretary Toucey will take leave of the department today.

Letters from San Antonio announce that Ben McCulloch, with eight hundred armed men, entered the town on the 16th of February, and took possession of the arsenal and other public property. The step was precipitated by news received the day previous that Twiggs had been superseded by Colonel Waite. The writer intimated that the order to Waite was intercepted between San Antonio and Camp Verde.

(Herald Correspondence.) McCulloch's move was under orders from the State Convention, and after he had taken possession and while Twiggs was in negotiation with him, Twiggs received orders superseding him. He despatched a messenger to Col. Waite at Fort Grey and referred matters to him. Proceedings in Twiggs's case were suspended till official information was received from the Department.

(Correspondence of the World.) Senators Wigfall and Hennepin withdraw today, being convinced that the secession of Texas will be ratified by the people.

(Correspondence of the Tribune.) It is definitely determined that Mr. Chase will have the Treasury, and Mr. Cameron will be offered the War Department. All invitations for the Cabinet will be issued today.

The Herald gives Montgomery Blair the Navy, Smith of Indiana the Interior, and Wells as Postmaster General.

Washington, March 2. It is understood that the President refuses to sign the Oregon and Washington Territory War Debt bill.

The Secretary of War has published an official order dismissing General Twiggs from the Army for treachery to the flag of the country.

Forty-three army officers have resigned since the passage of the South Carolina ordinance of secession.

The Post Route bill which has passed, contains a section requiring 10 cents prepaid letter postage to and from the Pacific Coast without regard to distance. All drop letters are to be hereafter paid by postage stamps.

Raleigh, 2d. Thirty-seven counties—21 are for compromise, 13 for secession, and 3 divided. The State has probably gone against a State convention by small majority. Many Union counties give majorities for a convention.

Wayne county gives 100% majority for a convention. Secessionists are elected in Nash county, which gives a majority of 93 for a convention. Wake county gives a majority of 160 for a convention, and elects Union delegates.

Warren county elects secessionists to the Convention by a large majority; Pearson county gives large majorities for Union delegates to the Convention. Northampton county elects one Unionist one Secessionist, and goes for a Convention.

The Washington correspondent of the Journal telegraphs as follows:

The President signed the Tariff bill this morning.

Mr. Lincoln will ride in a carriage drawn by two horses, in the inauguration procession, and will be accompanied by Mr. Buchanan. The Presidential carriage will be preceded by a car bearing the American flag, and containing thirty-four girls, representing the thirty-four States.

The National Intelligencer of this morning urges the Lincoln Administration not to adopt coercion as a cure for the evils of disunion, declaring that it will encounter so much opposition in the bosom of the Republican party, as to render it inefficient. This is understood to be the opinion of Mr. Corwin and other conservatives.

President Lincoln submitted the draft of his inaugural last night to those who have accepted invitations to become members of his Cabinet. It is said to be concise, making less than two columns in the National Intelligencer and reviews the state of the country in general terms.

It positively asserts the determination of the new Administration to execute the laws in such language as shows that the forts will not be surrendered, and that duties will be collected.

Mr. Cameron's friends urged him not to accept the appointment of Secretary of War, which is the position finally assigned to him, declaring that Pennsylvania has labored hard for the present tariff and that it should not first be administered by a Democratic representative of New York interests. Notwithstanding these complaints, Mr. Chase will be Secretary of the Treasury, and Montgomery Blair probably Postmaster General.

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 6, 1861.

SECOND EDITION.

THE CABINET OF MR. LINCOLN will, as far as ability and character are concerned, give general satisfaction. Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, is one of the first of living statesmen, combining enlarged general views with great fertility in devising practical expedients. He probably understands the whole country, in all its elements of opinion, prejudice, passion and power, better than any other public man of the time. His personal relations with the representative politicians of the South have always been pleasant, and he probably has not in that section a single personal enemy. His breadth and keenness of mind, combined with his calmness of temper, enable him to see clearly and judge fairly when the perceptions and judgments of others may be distorted by rage or fear. Accustomed from an early period to seek for principles in events, he has at last developed the more difficult power of reading events in principles, and his statesmanlike foresight is the inspiration of his policy. He is both a politician and a statesman, but a consideration of his career will force upon every candid mind the belief that the politician in him is merely the adaptation to shifting circumstances of the fixed principles of the statesman. His compromising tendencies proceed from no lack of settled convictions, but from the absence of disturbing passions.

Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Bates, the Attorney-General, probably rank next to Mr. Seward in ability and experience. Mr. Chase has been assailed for holding extreme views, though we can see little reason for the attack unless his motto, "Inauguration first, Adjustment afterwards," be considered fanatical, and even then we must admit that his fanaticism has now become fact. At any rate, his inflexible honesty as well as his vigorous intelligence will appear to great advantage in an office which has been disgraced by the treachery and incompetency of Cobb. Mr. Bates is an old Whig, with the best characteristics of his class. His chief connection with the politics of the country has been that of a patriot citizen, of powerful intellect and various accomplishments. As a lawyer he is fully equal to Cushing and Black. As a man he is very popular, and in every respect adds strength to the Cabinet.

Mr. Smith of Indiana, the Secretary of the Interior, is a native of this city. When he was six years old, his parents moved from Boston to Ohio, and he received his education in that State. He is a lawyer of considerable reputation, was for some years editor of one of the leading Whig papers of the West, has been speaker of the House of Representatives of Indiana, served six years in Congress, and was appointed by General Taylor one of the Commissioners for investigating the claims of our citizens against Mexico. He has been in public life nearly thirty years, and has ever been regarded as a man of ability and integrity. The "old Whigs" of the West will be specially gratified at his appointment.

Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War, has strong friends and bitter enemies. The latter strongly opposed his appointment, but Mr. Lincoln found, on sifted their charges, that they could not be sustained. Mr. Cameron belongs to the class of self-made men, and by his native energy and sagacity has risen to his present position of power in his State. He is as well versed in business as in politics, and is considered one of the richest men in Pennsylvania. He ranks among the most conservative members of the Cabinet.

Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General, the youngest member of the Cabinet, is the son of "Blair of the Globe." He is one of the small body of Maryland Republicans, is a lawyer of eminence, and is held in great esteem by all who

know him for backbone as well as brain. Coming from a slave State, it showed sagacity in Mr. Lincoln to make him Postmaster-General, rather than Secretary of the Navy. The latter office has been given to Gideon Welles of Connecticut, formerly a Democrat of the school of Jackson, and now the leader of the Republicans of Connecticut. He has the reputation of being a sound and sagacious politician, and a competent man of business.

Three members of the Cabinet—Welles, Chase and Smith—are natives of New England, Mr. Seward was born in the State of New York, Mr. Bates in Virginia, Mr. Cameron in Pennsylvania. We do not know the birthplace of Mr. Blair. He is the youngest of the members, being about forty-one years old. Mr. Bates is the senior of his associates, being 68 years old. Mr. Cameron is 62, Mr. Seward 60, Mr. Welles about 60, Mr. Smith 58, Mr. Chase 53. The President is 52—the Vice President will be 52 next August. It will thus be seen that the prominent members of the new administration are in the prime of bodily and mental vigor.

The Office Seekers at Washington.

Mr. Frederick W. Seward, of Albany, son of the Secretary of State, has been appointed Assistant Secretary of State. The appointment is universally commended.

The rush at the White House, to-day, was terrific. Mr. Lincoln's wiry physique has enabled him to bear up under a pressure such as no other President has encountered; and though he is pale and haggard at night, he awakes the next day restored and ready for its most unwelcome toils.

Messrs. Myers, Attorney-General of the State of New York, and Denison, Comptroller, are here pressing Mr. Dorshimer, the Treasurer of the State, for the post of Naval Officer. Some of the outsiders from New York are exceedingly vexed at this, as they regard it as incompatible with the position of these gentlemen in the State. They have seen the President to-day, and from the fact that they return home to-morrow, they evidently think the thing all fixed.

CHIEF JUSTICE TANEY.—It is reported that during the delivery of Lincoln's Inaugural, "Judge Taney seemed very much agitated, and his hands shook very perceptibly with emotion" as he administered the oath. We do not wonder at this. When he heard Lincoln expressly repudiate the solemn decision of the Supreme Court, he no doubt felt that it was the precursor of civil war, and the downfall of our glorious system of government. Aye, more, it was a distinct declaration that so far as he (Lincoln) was concerned, he should revolutionize the government and overthrow the Constitution, by placing a false construction upon it. Well may the venerable Chief Justice have trembled with emotion, when the man who in one breath repudiated the Constitution as it has been handed down to us by the fathers, in the next, swore to support it!—N.Y. Day Book.

Atlas & Argus
Mar 3, 1861

THE CABINET OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

In the last number of our Illustrated Paper we gave a spirited sketch of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet deliberating upon the present important national juncture. We now present our readers with the portraits of the seven distinguished men who control the public departments at this time of unexampled difficulty. Whether collectively they are equal to the crisis the future will decide; but we have the experience of their past individual lives as a hopeful presage of moderation and sagacity, and they are all eminently men of the people even in our Republic.

Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

We have in our paper of January 7, 1860, given so full a biography of this eminent statesman, that a very brief notice is all that is necessary on the present occasion. Born in Orange county, New York, on the 16th of May, 1801, he was educated at Union College, in this State, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1820, and the succeeding year established himself in Auburn, in the profession of the law. In 1830 he was elected a member of the Senate of New York State, and in 1834 was a candidate for Governor of his native State. He was, however, defeated by W. L. Marcy, afterwards the famous Secretary of State of Franklin Pierce. In 1839 Mr. Seward was again run for Governor against the same distinguished man, and was triumphantly elected. In 1849 he was chosen by the Legislature as United States Senator for six years, and was re-elected in 1855 for a similar term. At the recent Convention in Chicago he was a prominent candidate for the Presidential nomination, but was defeated in this natural object of his ambition by a celebrated journalist. His abilities and influence being, however, indispensible to the Republican party, he was by an almost political necessity placed at the head of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. Criticism on a man so well known as Mr. Seward is perfectly unnecessary, and we have only in conclusion to express our confidence that his cautious policy will lead to a peaceful settlement of our present unhappy dispute with the Southern portion of the Republic.

Hon. S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.

Governor Chase, as he is popularly called, was born in 1808, and educated in Washington, Ohio, by his uncle Bishop Chase, a name dear to the American people. When his uncle accepted the Presidency of Cincinnati College, young Chase accompanied his venerable relative, and studied with great assiduity and success. He then returned to his maternal home in New Hampshire, and entered himself at Dartmouth College, Hanover, where he took his degree in 1826. We next find him studying law in Washington under the well-known William Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States. In 1829 he was admitted to the bar, and next year returned to Cincinnati, where he opened a law office. He has been a member of the United States Senate, and has twice enjoyed the distinction of being elected Governor of Ohio.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War.

This eminent and successful Pennsylvanian was born in Lancaster county, in the early part of 1797. When he was quite a boy his father died, leaving the future minister to carry out his own fortune. In 1816 he settled in Harrisburg, and became a printer in the office of Mr. Peacock. His sobriety, industry and correct deportment made him many friends, and laid the foundation of his future fortune. After working for some years in Mr. Peacock's office he went to Washington City, and was employed as compositor on one of the journals. In 1828 he was appointed Adjutant-General; and in 1832 was made by General Jackson one of the Visitors of West Point—a compliment only bestowed upon the most distinguished citizens. For the last thirty years he has been principally engaged in the railway and banking operations of his native State, and although reproached for the affectionate care with which he looks after his own interest, he has never lost his character for honor and integrity. He was elected Senator for Pennsylvania in 1845, and on the formation of the Lincoln Cabinet was chosen to fill the responsible position of War Minister.

Hon. Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior.

Caleb B. Smith was born in Boston, Massachusetts, April 16, 1808, and emigrated with his parents to Ohio in 1814. He received his education at the Cincinnati College and Miami Union, adopted the profession of the law and settled in Indiana. In 1832 he established and edited a Whig journal called the *Indiana Sentinel*. In 1833 he was elected a member of the Legislature—re-elected in 1834, 1835 and 1836—during the latter year he officiated as Speaker. In 1847 and 1848 he was a member of the Board of Land Commissioners, and was a member of the House of Representatives from 1843 to 1850. Till his nomination as member of the Cabinet, he practised his profession in Cincinnati.

Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. Welles was born in Connecticut, and has been for forty years a prominent politician. He was originally a Democrat, but of late years has wheeled into the Republican ranks. He was made Postmaster of Hartford by Mr. Van Buren, but resigned the office in 1840. Under Polk's Presidency he received an appointment in the Navy Department, and distinguished himself

by his application and integrity. When the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise became a Democratic measure he left his party, and the breach became still wider during the Kansas and Nebraska discussions. In 1860 he was sent as a delegate to the Chicago Convention, and formed one of the Committee to Springfield, to announce to Mr. Lincoln his nomination.

Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney-General.

This eminent man is a native of Virginia, having been born in Goochland, about thirty miles from Richmond, in September, 1793. His father having a large family and a very small estate, the future Cabinet Minister had to pick up his education in a desultory manner. In 1814 he went to St. Louis, and commenced the study of law in the office of Rufus Easton. In 1817 he was called to the bar, and by slow degrees acquired an excellent practice. He has been a moderate and consistent politician.

Hon. Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General.

The present Postmaster-General is the son of Francis P. Blair, a man of considerable fame in old Jackson's time. He received his education at West Point, and graduated with much honor. He then went to St. Louis, where he commenced the study of the law. He was made a Judge of the Court of Claims by President Pierce, but was removed by Mr. Buchanan. He resides at Montgomery Castle, near Silver Spring, Montgomery county, Maryland, and is much esteemed by his neighbors. He is considered one of the most persistent of the Republican Ministry. He is, however, a man of talent, integrity and application.

FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED

APRIL 6, 1861.]

Sec. 1. 1907

John G.

THE NEWS FROM WASHINGTON. It will be seen that the telegraphic despatches from Washington today are inconsistent as usual in giving the various guesses of correspondents regarding the purposes of the Government. The President and Cabinet seem really to succeed in keeping their designs secret, and the wisdom of this reserve cannot be too highly praised, however much it may vex the gatherers of news.

Richmond Register
Advertiser

May 3, 1861

ADVERTISER.

STUPIDITY OF THE LINCOLN CABINET.

The cabal at Washington are as witless as they are wicked. With the shallow pretext of maintaining the Constitution and laws, they are trampling both under foot. The last proclamation of Lincoln is a most striking instance of self-stultification and folly. We are told, that the Southern States have not seceded—they cannot secede—secession is *null and void*; and yet in the same breath, these same States are treated as a foreign power, and subjected to a blockade in pursuance of the *law of nations*. Whoever before heard of a government blockading a portion of its own territory by the “*law of nations?*” This is, certainly, something new, under the sun, and must be confessed to be eminently Lincolnian in law and logic! What aggravates the absurdity, if anything could do it, while thus treating the Southern States as *in* the Union and *out* of it at the same time, the plain provision of the Constitution, which expressly prohibits any advantages to one port over another, is wholly ignored. The words of the Constitution on this point are worth quoting—They are: “No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over another.” Therefore it is perfectly clear, that the government cannot leave open ports in one State and close them in another. It cannot shut up the ports of New Orleans and Charleston, and open those of Boston and New York, *i. e.*, by the Constitution. This, however, our constitutional rail-splitter pays no regard to.

But this blundering crew not content with contradictions of which a school-boy would be ashamed, and not satisfied with involving themselves in war with half this continent, are laying down a programme which will inevitably draw upon them the navies of Europe. By treaties with England and France, it is expressly stipulated that the vessels of those countries shall have the right of entry to *all* the ports of this country. This paper blockade comes directly across this stipulated right. Think you that England and France are the powers to submit tamely to the denial of such a right—which would operate to the exclusion of their people from the most profitable commerce with this continent? We take it, that the very first English or French vessel that may be molested in its progress to a Southern port will rouse the offended nations to vigorous measures of resistance.—*Rich Whig.*

15 RUMORED CABINET DIFFICULTIES.

New York, 24th. The Herald has sensation despatches from Washington, to the effect that between the radicals and conservatives the Cabinet has been upon the verge of a complete dissolution; that Mr. Seward made up his mind to resign his position; his conciliatory and magnanimous counsel were to be superseded by violent measures demanded by our abolition fanatics; that his retirement would have led to the entire reconstruction of the Cabinet; and that to avoid such embarrassments at this crisis, and especially to retain the invaluable services of Mr. Seward, the President has resolved to harmonize as far as possible the execution of the confiscation and military acts with the conservative war policy which thus far has marked every act of his, or message, order or proclamation.

Bethel Manuscript Sept. 2, 1861 BC

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET. We have seen a letter from a gentleman of influence and high financial position, just returned from Washington, from which we make the following extract:

"Yes, I have just returned from Washington I have seen the President, once in committee, once alone, tête-à-tête. I like him. I believe he is the providential man, the President for the occasion. I think him not only true and sincere, but also sagacious, clear-sighted, *in-sighted*, and wise; firm when his mind is once made up—absolutely immovable. Peculiar in the working and unfolding of his mind, he is likely to switch off on a side track when you can see no sufficient reason for his not keeping the main track; but he easily slips back again, with little or no friction or even loss of headway. This troubles and perplexes many.

He understands his position and responsibilities. He knows his surroundings. Those who think they are using him are much mistaken. He sees through it all. I feel sure that the committees who have recently conferred with him are willing to leave matters in his hands. Within a week Seward has told a warm friend of his that of all the men he knew, there was not one in the United States so well fitted to carry the country safely through this struggle as Mr. Lincoln. I believe it thoroughly.

There are difficulties which you little dream of in removing Cameron and Welles. Yet I believe they will both have to walk. Holt, I think, will be Secretary of War. If a Democrat is taken for the Navy, perhaps Gov. Sprague (?) will be asked; if a Republican, probably Banks. As to Cameron, some persons in Washington believe he is honest, but too easily induced *to serve his friends*.

McClellan is the head of the military practically. He magnetizes the whole army. His influence is felt everywhere. He has great physical endurance and intellectual vigor, and is endowed with military genius, developed by thorough education. Scott is still greatly respected and much beloved. But the President you may have entire faith in, no matter who doubts."

10. Transcribed 1964 362

CABINET CONFERENCE.

REBEL RECRUITS FROM KENTUCKY.

New York, 29th. The Times' Washington despatch says the President and Secretaries Chase and Stanton had a conference yesterday and subsequently another with Gen. Halleck.

The same despatch says that prominent Kentuckians state that recently recruits have been leaving Kentucky to swell Morgan's force, and the armies besieging our troops at Cumberland Gap at the rate of a thousand per day.

SAYINGS AND DOINGS AT THE SOUTH.

A call in a Wilmington paper for volunteers concludes thus: "Abe Lincoln and his Cabinet must not repose in safety, so near the grave of Washington."

THE CABINET. The report of a change in the War Department was evidently premature. The President is said to be averse to making any change, except as an unavoidable necessity. A Washington correspondent says that those who understand completely the views of the Administration in this respect, express the opinion that if a change were to be made in the War Department, Gen. Banks would be preferred to any of the others who have been named in connection with the portfolio of the bureau.

R. T. 100
100

RUMORED CABINET CRISIS.

Boston Transcript Nov 10th 1862.
THE REBEL RETREAT.

THE PRESIDENT ADHERES TO HIS EMANCIPATION POLICY.

Washington, 8th. [Special despatch to New York Sunday Mercury.] A Cabinet crisis is impending. It is rumored that Seward, Smith, Blair and Bates are to retire, and that their places are to be filled by Fessenden of Me., Colfax of Indiana, Winter Davis of Maryland, and some other Western Republican. The change may not be announced before January, as the present heads of departments must make their reports to Congress in December.

The rebel preparations for retreat have been going on for two months. All their plans are known to be matured for making their winter quarters in Richmond.

Col. Blaisdell of the 11th Mass. regiment, holds Warrenton Junction, from whence the enemy fell back yesterday.

The snow storm will delay military operations in Virginia two or three days.

The President notifies all who call upon him that he will not modify or withdraw his emancipation proclamation.

TREACHERY IN LINCOLN'S
CABINET
AN ASTONISHING LETTER

129. Judge Edwards Pierrepont's 4 page letter to Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York dated Washington, Feb. 22, 1863.

... "I have some suggestions to make to you first alone, and then in presence of some two or three of your political friends in whose wisdom and sagacity you have confidence."

A man does not start a letter that way unless he has news of great importance; unless he is sure of his ground. . . . "you can receive the Democratic nomination for President . . . you can be elected. I shall . . . when I see you . . . point out some of the sure means to that end. I speak not at random when I say the most easy and judicious efforts will secure the entire force and zeal and vast energy of the War Department in your favor; a power not strong in New York City where you do not need it, but immense in the West and middle states where you do need it."

The War Dep't was in the strong hands of the able Edwin M. Stanton chosen by Lincoln to succeed the ineffective Cameron. Long before February of 1863 he had placed his lieutenants in every key post and had completely consolidated his power over every detail of the War Dep't. Stanton was the War Department. That, in a word, was common knowledge then, as now.

Seymour then, was promised Stanton's aid against Lincoln in whose cabinet Stanton sat. Undercover aid? No; "the entire force and zeal and vast energy of the War Department."

Historical writers have hinted at treachery in Lincoln's cabinet; here is contemporary written evidence, plain as a pike staff.

Truly an astonishing letter.

\$125.00

A CABINET SQUABBLE.

That there should be a quarrel in the Cabinet, in consequence of described mutual recriminations concerning the above state of facts, is not unnatural. And there has accordingly been lively dissensions among the administration leaders, and, it is said, three votes in the cabinet for the recall of McClellan. Seward, Blair and Usher are reported to have cast the heretical votes, to avert the effect of which hasty telegrams brought to Washington a number of the radical leaders, whose hostile pressure produced an actual "cabinet crisis." Even Stanton is stated to have been again involved in trouble, and his exit predicted in favor of the hero of New Orleans and Big Bethel. Among the questions discussed is said to have been the assumption of command in the field by Gen. Halleck, and Hooker and Sickles have been in close and repeated consultation with the President. The latter, it is rumored, has been the means of saving Hooker from decapitation.

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New York Herald
April 17, 1862

"Messrs. Butler and Webb

desire to see you at once
present state of affairs
confident they will find
deterioration of condition
but against com other number
are equally ignorant than
friends but are considerate
what can be done to help

and have I said you need
absolutely no money
in fact you have
not even a cent
but if you can get
permit to go over the
first frontier

GOV. ANDREW AND PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S CABINET. The New York Evening Post recommends the selection of Gov. Andrew for the Secretoryship of the Treasury, if no experienced financier can be found who is willing to assume its responsibilities. What the Post says of the sterling integrity, firm principle and remarkable ability of the Governor, will hardly be questioned from one end of the country to the other. That paper remarks:

But if there are reasons why some man of the class of practical financiers cannot be chosen, we do not know a better or more competent person for the position than Governor Andrew of Massachusetts. His large experience in the administration of the first state in the Union, his indomitable will and perseverance as a worker, his inflexible honesty, combined with his clearness of insight and moderation and prudence would seem to point him out as one peculiarly entitled to a place in the next Cabinet, if not for the Treasury Department, for some other, in which his zeal and ability would be of the broadest service to the nation.

BOSTON ADV

Albany Law Journal

MR. LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET -The Washington correspondent of the Tribune says the President has decided that it is not necessary to re-appoint the members of the Cabinet, remain over another term. It will be remembered that the Argus recently insisted that the tenure of Cabinet officers expired on the 4th of March, and that re-appointment in the case of members remaining over to another term was necessary. But there is no warrant for such a statement, either in law or precedent. JACKSON reconstructed his Cabinet a few months before the close of his first term; he also made some changes a few months after his re-inauguration; but he made no Cabinet appointments on or near the 4th of March, sent no names into the Senate, nor did he order that body to be convened in extra session to act upon Executive appointments, Cabinet or other.

We allude to this subject now because the report has been widely circulated that the Senate proposed to apply a veto upon certain Cabinet appointments in case they were sent in. We cannot believe that body would attempt to exercise such offensive dictation even were the majority of its members inimical to the policy of the Executive; but were it otherwise, Mr. LINCOLN is fortunately sufficiently "master of the situation" to carry out his own convictions of what the public interests demand. Mar 3, 1865.

Register Chittenden's Reminiscences of President Lincoln.

The Appointment of Mr. Fessenden as Secretary of the Treasury.

On the day following the resignation of Mr. Chase, the President sent the nomination of ex-Governor Tod, of Ohio, as secretary of the treasury to the Senate for confirmation. There is no occasion now to inquire after his motives. Undoubtedly his first thought was of an Ohio man, his opinion being settled that it was better not to select a secretary from any of the Atlantic States. The nomination was not well received, and it was a relief to friends when, during the evening, Mr. Tod, by telegraph, peremptorily declined it.

Before sunrise the next day I was again sent for. I rode to the White House in the dawning light of an early summer morning, and found the President in his waistcoat, trousers and slippers. He had evidently just left his bed, and had not taken time to dress himself. As I entered the familiar room, he said, in a cheerful, satisfied voice:

"I have sent for you to let you know that we have got a secretary of the treasury. If your sleep has been disturbed, you have time for a morning nap. You will like to meet him when the department opens."

"I am indeed glad to hear it," I said. "But who is he?"

"Oh, you will like the appointment, so will the country, so will everybody. It is the best appointment possible. Strange that I should have had any doubt about it. What have you to say to Mr. Fessenden?"

"He would be an eminently proper appointment," I answered. "The chairman of the Senate committee on finance; perfectly familiar with all our financial legislation; a strong, able man, and a true friend of the Union. He is also next in the direct line of promotion. But he will not accept. His health is frail and his present position suits him. There is not one chance in a thousand of his acceptance."

"He will accept; have no fear on that account. I have just notified him of his appointment, and I expect him every moment."

At this moment the door suddenly opened, and Mr. Fessenden almost burst into the room, without being announced. His thin face was colorless; there was intense excitement in his voice and movements.

"I cannot! I will not! I should be a dead man in a week. I am a sick man now. I cannot accept this appointment, for which I have no qualifications. You, Mr. President, ought not to ask me to do it. Pray relieve me by saying that you will withdraw it. I repeat, I cannot and I will not accept it."

The President rose from his chair, approached Mr. Fessenden, and threw his arm around his neck. It may seem ludicrous, but as I saw that long and apparently unstiffened limb winding like a cable about the small neck of the Senator from Maine, I wondered how many times the arm would encircle it. His voice was serious and emphatic, but without any assumption of authority, as he said:

"Fessenden, since I have occupied this place, every appointment I have made upon my own judgment has proved to be a good one. I do not say the best that could have been made, but good enough to answer the purpose. All the mistakes I have made have been in cases where I have permitted my own judgment to be overruled by that of others. Last night I saw my way clear to appoint you secretary of the treasury. I do not think you have any right to tell me you will not accept the place. I believe that the suppression of the rebellion has been decreed by a higher power than any represented by us, and that the Almighty is using His own means to that end. You are one of them. It is as much your duty to accept it as it is mine to appoint. Your nomination is now on the way from the state department, and in a few minutes it will be here. It will be in the Senate at noon, you will be immediately and unanimously confirmed, and by 1 o'clock to-day you must be signing warrants in the treasury."

Mr. Fessenden was intellectually a strong man, one of the last men to surrender his own judgment to the will of another, but he made no effort to resist the President's appeal. He cast his eyes upon the floor, and murmured, "Well, perhaps I ought to think about it," and turned to leave the room.

"No," said the President; "this matter is settled here and now. I am told that it is very necessary that a secretary should act to-day. You must enter upon your duties to-day. I will assure you that if a change becomes desirable hereafter, I will be ready and willing to make it. But, unless I misunderstand the temper of the public, your appointment will be so satisfactory that we shall have no occasion to deal with any question of change for some time to come."

At this point the conversation terminated, and all the persons present separated. The result is well known. Mr. Fessenden's appointment was entirely satisfactory, and the affairs of the treasury went on so smoothly that no change in the financial policy of Secretary Chase was attempted; and from this time until the resignation of Mr. Fessenden there was no further friction between the treasury department and the executive.

Lincoln, Seward and Chase.

Near the end of 1862 the opposition of Chase and the republican senators to Seward culminated in an attempt to get the latter out of the cabinet. "The Life of Lincoln," in the February Century, fully details the circumstances. Mr. Lincoln so managed that Seward's resignation was followed by Chase's, and he declined to accept either. Say the authors: "The untrained diplomatist of Illinois had thus met and conjured away, with unsurpassed courage and skill, one of the severest crises that ever threatened the integrity of his administration. He had to meet it absolutely unaided; from the nature of the case he could take no advice from those who were nearest him in the government. By his bold and original expedient of confronting the senators with the cabinet, and having them discuss their mutual misunderstandings under his own eye, he cleared up many dangerous misconceptions, and, as usually happens when both parties are men of intelligence and good will, brought about a friendlier and more considerate feeling between his government and the republican leaders than had ever before existed. By placing Mr. Chase in such an attitude that his resignation became necessary to his own sense of dignity he made himself absolute master of the situation; by treating the resignations and the return to the cabinet of both ministers as one and the same transaction he saved for the nation the invaluable services of both, and preserved his own position of entire impartiality between the two wings of the union party. The results of this achievement were not merely temporary. From that hour there was a certain loosening of the hitherto close alliance between Mr. Chase and the republican opposition to the president, while a kind of comradeship, born of their joint sortie and re-entrance into the government, gave thereafter a greater semblance of cordiality to the relations between the secretaries of state and of the treasury. But above all the incident left the president seated more firmly than ever in the saddle. When the cabinet had retired and left the president with the resignation of Mr. Chase in his hands, he said to a friend who entered soon after, in one of those graphic metaphors so often suggested to him by the memories of his pioneer childhood, and which revealed his careless greatness perhaps more clearly than his most labored official utterances, 'Now I can ride; I have got a pumpkin in each end of my bag.'

"Nearly a year later he said in a conversation relating to this matter:

I do not see how it could have been done better. I am sure it was right. If I had yielded to that storm and dismissed Seward the thing would all have slumped over one way, and we should have been left with a scanty handful of supporters. When Chase gave in his resignation I saw that the game was in my hands, and I put it through.

Though the opposition to Mr. Seward did not immediately come to an end, it never exhibited such vitality again, and its later manifestations were treated far more cavalierly by Mr. Lincoln. He had even before this dismissed one very respectable committee from New York who had called to express an unfavorable opinion of the premier, by saying with unwonted harshness, 'You would be willing to see the country ruined if you could turn out Seward'; and after this incident he never again allowed the secretary of state to be attacked in his presence."—
The Century for February. 1888

CHAPTER XXVI.

(WRITTEN BY JOSEPH HOWARD, JR.)

PART VII.

LINCOLN'S CABINET AND THE TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITIES THEY BORE.



It is well, right here, to put on record the names of the men who were associated with Abraham Lincoln in the conduct of the government. The first ticket elected was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, president; Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, vice-president. The second elected was Abraham Lincoln, president; Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, vice-president. William H. Seward of New York was secretary of state during both terms of the Lincoln administration, and continued as such after Lincoln's death in April, 1865, when Andrew Johnson, by virtue of constitutional right, became his successor. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, and Hugh McCulloch of Indiana were the several secretaries of the treasury. The following named men, in the order given, served as secretary of war: Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania. Edwin M. Stanton of Pennsylvania, Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois, John M. Schofield of Missouri. Gideon Welles of Connecticut was secretary of the navy during the entire two terms, which expression, so far as this portion of the story is concerned, includes the Andrew Johnson administration, as well as that of Abraham Lincoln. Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, John P. Usher of Indiana, James Harlan of Iowa, and O. H. Browning of Illinois served successively as secretary of the interior. Montgomery Blair of Maryland, William Dennison of Ohio, and A. W. Randal of Wisconsin were in turn postmaster general, and Edward Bates of Missouri. James K. Speed of Kentucky, Henry Stanberry of Ohio and William M. Evarts of New York were, one after the other, attorney general. There was a great deal of truth in the jocular remark, made when Lincoln was elected and announced his cabinet, to the effect that he had corralled all his rivals. In William H. Seward Lincoln had the services of the foremost New Yorker, its brainiest governor, its shrewdest statesman, its favorite son. In Mr. Chase, as in the case of Mr. Seward, Mr. Lincoln was supported by one of the earliest anti-slavery apostles, a man of pure character, of noble aims, in fact every member of his cabinet was a prominent candidate prior to the Chicago convention of 1860, and continued so to be down to the days that tried men's souls, when of necessity they took a back seat and cheerfully resigned the reins to the man selected twice by the nation to guide it over the alpine heights of endeavor, and through the swamps and morasses of trial and of sorrow.

Mr. Seward's task required extended acquaintance of men, of national interplay, of laws, of customs, of usages, throughout the civilized world. He dealt with powers whose facial look was friendly, but whose hearts were charged with venom. He was confronted with the tricks and manners of

wily statesmen. He was compelled, while apparently representing a united nation, in reality to recognize that, for the time being at all events, he represented only a segment of the nation. As governor of the State of New York, as a member of the United States Senate, as a leader of the great Republican party, as its foremost champion in fact, he made no mistake, and it redounds to his everlasting credit that the State papers prepared during that awful period when Lincoln was president read today in the calm light of history, as clear, as luminous, as intelligent, as though they were prepared after the excitements, the tumults and confusions had passed away, rather than in the very glare and heat of midday disturbance.

Upon Mr. Chase fell a burden, the like of which no fiscal officer, no financial secretary ever felt before or since. We, who endeavor vainly to rid the national treasury of its vast surplus, little appreciate the struggles of him who found an empty treasury, a dishonored currency, a financial panic. After the election of Mr. Lincoln, but prior to his inauguration, the government negotiated a loan of \$10,000,000 at 5 per cent. At that time Howell Cobb of Georgia was secretary of the treasury and John J. Cisco the assistant treasurer in New York. The loan was entirely subscribed for, and 1 per cent of the amount taken was deposited by each subscriber at the time. In reply to Mr. Cisco's congratulations, Mr. Cobb said: "The people who have taken this loan are a pack of damned fools. It will never be paid. The country is going to be broken to pieces. Georgia will go out of the Union, and when she goes I go with her." In consequence of the withdrawal, as they termed it, of several of the States prior to the date fixed for the final payment, a number of bankers refused to keep their agreement, and forfeited their deposit of one per cent. Seven millions, however, of the 10 were paid. The consequence was that on the 1st of January, 1861, there was not money enough in the United States treasury to pay the interest due upon the public debt, and the new secretary of the treasury, Mr. Cobb, having withdrawn with his State, Mr. Thomas of Maryland, induced the president to authorize a treasury note loan, at the extraordinary rate of 12 per cent. per annum, for the purpose of raising money to pay the interest due. It was one thing to ask a loan, another to get the money, and had it not been for the personal exertions of Mr. Cisco, vigorously aided and efficiently abetted by Mr. Vail, then cashier of the New York Bank of Commerce, who on the night, literally, of Dec. 31, 1860, went to the large holders of the public debt in New York and Brooklyn, from whom he secured a sufficient number of notes to save the government from the impending catastrophe, the government would then and there have been adjudged bankrupt. It was the extraordinary conduct of the then secretary of the treasury that induced Mr. Cisco to put in black and white his view of the situation, which resulted in the removal of Mr. Thomas and the appointment of General John A. Dix as secretary of the treasury. This restored confidence to the moneyed people of the North—that is, such amount of confidence as that peculiarly

sensitive class of human nature can be expected to feel when, like the good people of Ephesus, they fear their craft is in danger.

It is astonishing to see how much great men are like little men.

Their hindsight is very much better than their foresight.

That Salmon P. Chase was a great man everybody who knows anything about him and his times will readily admit. His long service at the bar, in statecraft, and as leader in the very van of the army battling for freedom, gives abundant testimony in that regard, and yet, when shortly after his appointment as secretary of the treasury, he sent for Mr. Cisco for the purpose of consultation upon the financial policy of the country, he said in reply, to Mr. Cisco's suggestion that a long, bloody and costly war was before the country, and that the only possible policy was that of long bonds and strong taxation, "Are you not aware, sir, that we shall soon have 75,000 men in the field, and that 60 days from now the country will be at peace, while as for strong taxation the people of the country will not bear it, and there is no need for it?" In subsequent conversations Mr. Chase enforced his view that the country would not stand strong taxation, and when Mr. Cisco predicted that without it the country must inevitably drift into a suspension of specie payments, he rejoined: "Never, so long as I am secretary of the treasury." What has been very happily termed a hand-to-mouth policy was then begun, and careful study of the situation then, and for years thereafter, leads me to pay a just tribute to the financial ability of Mr. Cisco, to whom Mr. Chase as an officer, and the administration as an entity, owed much.

On the 19th of August, 1861, a crisis had come.

Mr. Chase met in the house of Mr. Cisco the leading capitalists and bankers of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. A common interest brought them there. A common furnace wrought them to white heat, for if the government failed they, too, became bankrupt. After long and anxious deliberation, Mr. Chase said that what he wanted to raise was a loan of \$50,000,000, in 7-30 treasury notes, with the privilege of converting them into 20-year bonds, the subscribers to have the option of taking \$50,000,000 more, with a subsequent \$50,000,000, or \$150,000,000 in all. At a subsequent meeting, held in the American Exchange banking house, the leading bankers of the city fought vigorously one side and the other, but finally yielding to the clean-cut remark of the president of the Mechanics' bank that if the obligations of the government became worthless the property of the banks and of the entire country must follow suit, a resolution was adopted to accept the terms proposed by the government.

The banks took the first 50 millions, thereby casting their lot with that of the government.

They took the second, and virtually took the third, there being some compromise by which the last 50 millions were put in 6 per cent bonds, redeemable after 20 years. Following this, on the 30th of December, 1861, the banks unanimously decided to suspend specie payments on the following Monday. With the success of these early loans and the suspension of specie payments there came a perfect mania for the possession of governmental notes. Something like 85 per cent, of all the early loans negotiated were taken in New York, the 7-30 notes being especially popular. At first the suspension of specie payments worked great annoyance in ordinary transactions, as small silver change disappeared from circulation with marvellous rapidity, and omnibus fares, ferryage tolls, all manner of petty barginings, were paid with

postage stamps, and inconvenience which led up to what was known as fractional currency, little paper due bills, issued by the government for 5, 10, 25 and 50 cents each.

The internal revenue tax was a nuisance. It was a nuisance, but it was also a necessity. Congress, a magnificent unit composed of anything but magnificent individualities, disliked exceedingly to take up the question of taxation, and it was not until the session of '61 and '62 that the subject of internal taxation was regarded as so vital a necessity as to demand immediate attention. Mr. Chase's idea was that a tax schedule that would yield \$200,000,000 a year would about fill the bill, and he prepared, with the aid of ways and means, a scheme which had some 15 separate subjects of taxation. One of these was a tax of half a cent a mile on railroad passengers, and a tax of one cent on horse railroads and ferries. Subsequently, when a bill was passed which did levy a tax on horse railroads and ferries, putting it down to one-third of a cent, those patriotic factors in affairs charged an additional cent to their passengers, of which two-thirds went into their own treasury, and one-third into that of the United States. It was proposed to tax consumers of gas 50 cents a thousand cubic feet, to be collected with the monthly bills of the gas companies, but in consequence of an argument that under such a tax all gas consumers would go back to the use of common candles that point was dropped. When at first it was thought to put a tax of 50 cents a gallon on whiskey it was laughed out of court; yet in less than two years Congress went to the other extreme and put the tax to \$2 a gallon, which led up to an organized society of whiskey frauds, the head and front of which went to his grave unexposed, for reasons very well understood by the initiated. Suffice it in this resume of affairs to say that Congress finally passed a bill which they expected would yield a revenue of \$200,000,000, but which finally returned \$70,000,000 gross, \$60,000,000 net.

Hesitation was the motto of the hour.

It may or may not be true that the woman who hesitates is lost. There can be no question, however, that the government which hesitates in the face of an imperative necessity courts destruction. The nation was aroused and ready to bear its burden, but the politicians seeking re-election were timid about the weight. In a speech made by John D. Van Buren of New York he said "a tax of \$200,000,000, levied in the first year of the war, would have enabled us to borrow freely, and to keep up specific payments would have served by a demonstration of our strength as a warning to foreign powers disposed to meddle, would have discouraged the enemy, compelled them to resort at the outset to irredeemable paper money, and would have greatly shortened the contest. It would have avoided two-thirds of our public debt, while from how much demoralization and sin it would have saved us is beyond calculation." We who handle United States treasury notes, or notes of individual banks indorsed by the government, little appreciate the vast convenience, to say the least, these rustling bills are, as contrasted with the wild-cat currencies, so prevalent before the scheme of greenback issues, born in the fertile brain of Salmon P. Chase. Then every little town throughout this wide extended territory known as the United States, north, south, east and west, as well as the great commercial centres, had their banks, and in a file of 50 bills there would be the solid metropolitan issue, the probably serious issue of some smaller city, the possibly good, but probably doubtful issue of a remoter town and the very likely spurious issue from

a counterfeiters' den. Bills of Illinois, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina banks were at a discount in the great marts, and, as matter of fact, it was a physical as well as a financial impossibility to know precisely how much the bill of any bank was worth. With the passage of the law, or a series of laws, authorizing the United States treasury to do this, that and the other, in the way of special issues, all the cobwebs of banking intricacy were swept to the winds, and on the solid basis of governmental recognition came to the front these beautifully engraved, highly esteemed, greatly welcomed conveniences. Today the humblest worker in the land knows that his \$5 bill is worth 100 cents on every dollar. In hamlets as in banks, on the golden slopes, upon the mountain heights, in the green carpeted valleys, along the trout streams and on the bosom of the mighty ocean, the greenback issue is as solid and as firm, as substantial and as enduring as the stamp of golden coin and silver metal itself.

For this thank Salmon P. Chase.

Lincoln had a pretty tough time with some members of his cabinet, and without entering into the gossip or the well understood causes which induced Mr. Lincoln to make a change, suffice it to say that early in 1862 it seemed wise to him to replace Mr. Cameron, in the war department, by Edwin M. Stanton. Mr. Lincoln wrote Mr. Cameron a very brief note as follows: "I have made up my mind to accept your resignation, and to tender you the mission to St. Petersburg." Inasmuch as Mr. Cameron had never written a resignation, nor spoken one, although he had occasionally talked about it, this was regarded by his friends as a discourteous dismissal, and Mr. Chase was induced to take the note back to the President, whom he persuaded to substitute for it another, containing expressions of regret and compliment.

Mr. Cameron, as secretary of war, was confronted with enormous problems.

Everything was confusion, nothing was of record, very little of system. Mr. Chase's preference was for General Butler, of whom he said one time: "There is the fittest man in the United States to be secretary of war." Mr. Stanton was, however, appointed, and took hold of affairs with a vigor, firmness, self-reliance and frequent disregard of right and wrong that was characteristic. The country readily recognized in him an honest, loyal master, and although many of his acts were unjustifiably arbitrary, the very opposite of fair, while his manner was brusque to rudeness and his heart apparently as callous as his bearing was intolerant, his personal unpleasantness was put up with because of the energy, drive and push with which he carried on the public service.

The politics of the war were multitudinous.

The story of the politics of the war would fill volumes. The presidential itchings of men in place and power were continuous, and bore heavily upon the heart of the people, taxing not only their pockets, but their brains, grinding out their lives upon the battlefield, and testing their patience to a degree which finally rose in its might, and, with unmistakable emphasis, demanded that the war be prosecuted to a finality, that the shedding of blood should cease, that the flag should wave over every port, and that failure to consummate that end would be regarded as intentional treason, to be punished then and there.

With this knowledge of the people's determination, generals on the field took courage.

Their muscles were strengthened, their nerves elated, their pockets filled, their depleted ranks made whole, and with renewed energy they pushed forward to the front, ending, as the people knew they could, in a short, sharp, decisive series of campaigns, a war which, having cost billions of money and a million of lives, could unquestionably have been closed in one half the time it endured. . . .

But halt!

Lincoln's duties, Seward's diplomatics, Chase's financial successes, Stanton's despots, the wide horizons of army operations crowned with absolute success, and the banner of the flag of the Union carried in triumph to every mast head, to every staff peak, who, in pettiness, can tell this story? There is a volume in every month, a history in every year, a cyclopaedia in the administration.



GIDEON WELLES, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY; EDWIN M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR;

SIMON CAMERON.

HUGH MCCULLOCH.

Lincoln as a Cabinet-Maker.

When Abraham Lincoln arrived in Washington twenty-eight years ago, he had practically decided upon the men whom he wished to have in his Cabinet, though only two of them had been formally notified. The position of Secretary of State had been tendered to and accepted by Mr. Seward in December; and about the same time the position of Attorney General had been offered to and accepted by Mr. Bates. On the last day of the same month Mr. Cameron had been informed that he would be nominated either for Secretary of the Treasury or Secretary of War; but on the 3d of January this offer had been practically withdrawn—and on the same day the office of Secretary of the Treasury had been tendered to Mr. Chase, or, strictly speaking, he had been asked if he would take it, and had said he would consider the matter. Smith for Secretary of the Interior and Welles for Secretary of the Navy had been virtually chosen; but the Postmaster General had not yet been selected, owing to the difficulty of deciding between Montgomery Blair and Henry Winter Davis. In short, a week before the inauguration, Seward and Bates alone had been assigned to definite places in the Cabinet; the other selections were yet in abeyance, subject to change if it should be thought necessary, or advisable on any account.

Mr. Lincoln listened patiently to all the arguments and suggestions that were made to him by leading Republicans in Washington, but found no good reason for departing from his previous conclusions, except in the case of Mr. Cameron, whom he chose for Secretary of War, after having for a time yielded to the clamor against him. The struggle between Blair and Davis was obstinate and bitter, and the former was finally selected, against the advice and earnest protest of Mr. Seward. Then, on the 2d of March, ensued a contingency which had not been anticipated, and which threatened to upset the whole arrangement and compel a reconstruction of the Cabinet at the last moment. Mr. Seward wrote a note to Mr. Lincoln withdrawing his acceptance. This was on Saturday, and Mr. Lincoln studied the situation until Monday morning, when he answered it with an urgent request that the withdrawal be countermanded. The inauguration procession was forming as he handed the note to his secretary, with the remark: "I can't afford to let Seward take the first trick." Then he proceeded to the Capitol and was sworn in as President, not knowing certainly who was to be his Secretary of State. Later in the day Mr. Seward called at the White House and had a long, frank interview with the President, the result of which was that on the morning of the 5th he recalled his note of the 2d, and his name went to the Senate at noon. It would certainly have been most unfortunate both for the Administration and the country if Mr. Seward had persisted in

his refusal to enter the Cabinet; and the fact that he was induced to adopt the better course must be regarded as a signal illustration of the sound and practical wisdom by which Mr. Lincoln was always guided.

2.26.1889

LINCOLN AND HARLAN. 1885

From the Sioux City Journal.

A correspondent of the Journal calls attention to the following editorial item in its issue of the 19th inst:

There are only three surviving members of Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet—Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana, and James Harlan, of Iowa.

The correspondent says that this statement is not quite accurate, and makes the point that although Mr. Harlan was selected by Mr. Lincoln for Secretary of the Interior, he was never actually a member of the Cabinet. Mr. Blaine in the second volume, page 61, of his "Twenty Years of Congress" gives the facts as follows:

Caleb B. Smith, who was a member of Mr. Lincoln's original Cabinet, had resigned in order to accept a Federal Judgeship in Indiana, and his able Assistant Secretary, John P. Usher, had been promoted to the head of the Department, fulfilling his trust to Mr. Lincoln's satisfaction. He in turn resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Harlan, who was nominated by Mr. Lincoln, and was unanimously confirmed by the Senate on the 9th of March—the confirmation to take effect the 15th of May. It was an exceptional form of appointment; but when the date was reached, President Johnson insisted that the new Secretary should assume the duties of office.

Mr. Lincoln died on the morning of the 15th of April, 1865. Three hours later Vice President Johnson was sworn in as President. Mr. Harlan became a member of his Cabinet and continued to serve in that capacity until July, 1866, when he resigned, having, as Mr. Blaine remarks, remained as long as was consistent with his personal dignity, for the purpose of protecting Republican principles which the President and he alike were pledged to uphold.

The death of Mr. Usher a few days since has given rise to the current talk in relation to Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. The facts as given above in no wise detract from Mr. Harlan's merit as a counselor of Mr. Lincoln and as his choice for a Cabinet position, the consummation being prevented by the assassin's bullet. The fact remains that Mr. Harlan was chosen by Mr. Lincoln for a Cabinet position and later actually served in that place, displaying therein all the great ability and capacity for which his public career in other places has been so conspicuous.

J WRIGHT

MR. LINCOLN'S CABINET. 1869

From the Washington Post.

The death of John P. Usher, who succeeded Caleb B. Smith as Secretary of the Interior under President Lincoln, leaves Simon Cameron, Hugh McCulloch and James Harlan (by appointment) as the only surviving members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. William H. Seward, of the State Department; Salmon P. Chase and William P. Fessenden, of the Treasury; Edwin M. Stanton, the great War Secretary; Gideon Welles, of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of the Interior; Montgomery Blair and William Dennison, Postmasters General, and Edward Bates and James Speed, of the Department of Justice, had gone before.

Mr. Cameron, it will be remembered, preceded Mr. Stanton as Secretary of War; Mr. McCulloch succeeded Mr. Fessenden as Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Harlan was appointed Secretary of the Interior in March, 1865, to succeed Mr. Usher, but did not resign his seat in the Senate until the following May, when he became a member of Mr. Johnson's Cabinet.

Two of these distinguished gentlemen have reached a venerable age, but give no special signs of failing powers, either mentally or physically. Mr. Harlan, at 69, is still robust and vigorous, with the promise of a long life yet before him.

WOMAN IN LINCOLN'S CABINET.

The Unrecognized Genius of the War.

Women of ability and high character have rendered too many important services to progress without receiving their share of honest credit.—[Times-Herald.]

IN SENDING forth this hearty recognition of woman's ability, and the service of Miss Field, to its large audience of readers (whether it was penned by man or woman) THE TIMES-HERALD has done credit to the higher manhood. On reading this tribute of justice to Miss Field in an editorial of issue Saturday, Jan. 4, my thoughts at once recurred to the important services rendered to our country by Miss Anna Ella Carroll in the hour of national peril. Probably few of the youth of this generation know how greatly the success of the federal forces in the war of the rebellion was due to the ability and military genius of this woman.

A most strenuous effort was made in 1861 by the disunionists to take Maryland out of the union, with the expectation that the southern congress would be inaugurated in the capitol of the United States on the expiration of President Buchanan's term on March 4. It was calculated with confidence that such possession of the public buildings and archives would secure the recognition of their national independence by the European powers. Miss Carroll, by newspaper articles and pamphlets published at her own expense, vigorously maintained the true theory of our institutions, and defined and defended the war powers of the government.

Senator John C. Breckenridge, in the July congress of 1861, made a notable secession speech. Miss Carroll replied to this in a pamphlet containing such clear and powerful arguments that the war department circulated a large edition, and requested her to write on other important points then being discussed with great diversity of opinion. Samuel T. Williams, at that time chief editor of the Globe (the Congressional Record of the day), wrote Miss Carroll:

Allow me to thank you for the privilege of reading your admirable review of Mr. Breckenridge's speech. If spoken in the senate your article would have been regarded by the country as a complete and masterly refutation of Mr. B.'s heresies.

Edward Bates, who was the attorney general of President Lincoln's cabinet, wrote her in reference to this:

I have only time to thank you for taking the trouble to embody for the use of others so much sound constitutional doctrine and so many valuable historic facts in a form so compact and manageable. The president received a copy left for him and requested me to thank you cordially for your able support.

In September, 1861, Miss Carroll prepared a paper on "The constitutional powers of the President to make arrests and to suspend the writ of habeas corpus." In December, 1861, she published a pamphlet entitled, "The War Powers of the Government." This was followed by a paper entitled "The Relation of Revolted Citizens to the National Government." This was written at the special request of President Lincoln, approved by him, and adopted as the basis of subsequent action.

William Mitchell wrote from the house of representatives May 13, 1862:

If you will excuse my poor writing I will tell you what Mr. Lincoln said about you last night. I was there, with seven or eight members of congress and others, when a note and box came from you. He seemed much delighted and read your letter out to us and showed the contents of the box. He said: "This Anna Ella Carroll is the head of the Carroll race. When the history of this war is written she will stand a good deal taller than ever old Charles Carroll did."

The Tennessee campaign, which brought

the first decided victory by the federal forces in the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson and was the beginning of the end and final victory of the union forces, was projected and planned by Miss Carroll. The possession of the Mississippi River and control of the Mississippi Valley were indispensable. But to reach the center of confederate power and cut off its supplies was the great desideratum. To do this it was necessary to destroy the interior lines of communication. The army of the Potomac took three years and a half to reach Richmond, and was then not half way to a decisive point.

It was suggested by the war department that Miss Carroll should go west and endeavor to form an opinion as to the probable result of the proposed descent of the Mississippi by the gunboats. Accordingly she went to St. Louis and remained for a month. After studying the topography of the country she came to the conclusion that the Tennessee River, and not the Mississippi, would be the true path to success. The Memphis and Charleston Railroad was the only complete bond of connection between the confederate armies of the east and the armies of the Mississippi Valley. There was but one avenue by which this bond could be reached and effectually severed, and that was the Tennessee River.

When Miss Carroll, on returning to Washington, presented her plan and her arguments to Colonel Thomas A. Scott, acting secretary of war, his countenance brightened and he exclaimed: "Miss Carroll, I believe you have solved the question." He hurried at once with the plan in his hands to the White House, and when Mr. Lincoln had read it Mr. Scott said he "had never witnessed such delight as he evinced." He hastened to send Mr. Scott to investigate, and went himself at once to St. Louis to aid in putting the plan in motion. Just after the fall of Fort Henry Mr. Scott stated to the assistant secretary of war, on leaving him for the west: "This is Miss Carroll's plan, and if it succeeds the glory is hers."

To illustrate the quality of generalship possessed by Miss Carroll, her comprehensive grasp of possible situations, her foresight of the probable results of possible movements by the respective armies, I will copy one of the several papers addressed by her to the war department (the first one) in reference to the Tennessee campaign. This was placed in the hands of Thomas A. Scott Nov. 30, 1861, with a map. It is as follows:

The civil and military authorities seem to be laboring under a great mistake in regard to the true key to the war in the southwest. It is not the Mississippi, but the Tennessee River. All the military preparations made in the west indicate that the Mississippi River is the point to which the authorities are directing their attention. On that river many battles must be fought and heavy risks incurred before any impression can be made on the enemy, all of which could be avoided by using the Tennessee River. This river is navigable for middle-class boats to the foot of Muscle Shoals in Alabama, and is open to navigation all the year, while the distance is but 250 miles by the river from Paducah on the Ohio. The Tennessee offers many advantages over the Mississippi.

We should avoid the almost impregnable batteries of the enemy, which cannot be taken without great danger and great risk of life to our forces, from the fact that our boats, if crippled, would fall a prey to the enemy by being swept by the current to him and away from the relief of our friends; but, even should we succeed, still we will only have begun the war, for we shall then fight for the country from whence the enemy derives his supplies.

Now, an advance up the Tennessee River would avoid this danger, for if our boats were crippled they would drop back with the current and escape capture; but a still greater advantage would be its tendency to cut the enemy's lines in two by

reaching the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, threatening Memphis, which lies 100 miles due west, and no defensible point between; also Nashville, only ninety miles northeast, and Florence and Tuscaloosa, in north Alabama, forty miles east.

A movement in this direction would do more to relieve our friends in Kentucky and inspire the loyal hearts of east Tennessee than the possession of the whole of the Mississippi River. If well executed it would cause the evacuation of all these formidable fortifications upon which the rebels ground their hopes of success; and, in the event of our fleet attacking Mobile, the presence of our troops in the northern part of Alabama would be material aid to the fleet.

Again, the aid our forces would receive from the loyal men in Tennessee would enable them soon to crush the last traitor in that region, and the separation of the two extremes would do more than 100 battles for the union cause.

The Tennessee River is crossed by the Memphis and Louisville Railroad and the Memphis and Nashville Railroad. At Hamburg the river makes the big bend to the east, touching the northeast corner of Mississippi, entering the northeast corner of Alabama, forming an arc to the south, entering the State of Tennessee at the northeast corner of Alabama, and if it does not touch the northwest corner of Georgia comes very near it. It is but eight miles from Hamburg to the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, which goes through Tuscaloosa, only two miles from the river, which it crosses at Decatur, thirty miles above, intersecting with the Nashville and Chattanooga Road at Stevenson. The Tennessee River has never less than three feet to Hamburg on the shoalest bar, and during the fall, winter and spring months there is always water for the largest boats that are used on the Mississippi River.

It follows, from the above facts, that in making the Mississippi the key to the war in the west, or, rather, in overlooking the Tennessee River, the subject is not understood by the superiors in command.

In a second paper, Jan. 5, 1862, Miss Carroll stated:

I ascertained when in St. Louis that the gunboats then fitting out could not retreat against the current of the western rivers, and so stated to you; besides, their principal guns are placed forward and will not be very efficient against an enemy below them. The fighting would have to be done by their stern guns—only two—or, if they anchored by the stern, they would lose the advantage of motion, which would prevent the enemy from getting their range. Our gunboats at anchor would be a target which the enemy will not be slow to improve and benefit thereby.

If you will look on the map of the western states you will see in what a position Buckner would be placed by a strong advance up the Tennessee River. He would be obliged to back out of Kentucky, or, if he did not, our forces could take Nashville in the rear and compel him to lay down his arms.

In April, four months after the adoption of Miss Carroll's plans, President Lincoln issued a proclamation thanking Almighty God for the signal victories which have saved our country from foreign intervention and invasion.

Persons now surviving who were of mature years at the time of the war of the rebellion can recall the thrill of satisfaction and the relief that followed the fall of Vicksburg. In October, 1862, Miss Carroll wrote the following letter to the secretary of war, on the reduction of Vicksburg:

As I understand an expedition is about to go down the river for the purpose of reducing Vicksburg. I have prepared the inclosed map in order to demonstrate more clearly the obstacles to be encountered in the contemplated assault. In the first place, it is impossible to take Vicksburg in front without too great a loss of life and material, for the reason that the river is only about half a mile wide and our forces would be in point blank range of their guns, not only from their water batteries, which line the shore, but from the batteries that crown the hills; while the enemy would be protected by the elevation from the range of our fire. By examining the map I inclose you will at once perceive why a place of so little apparent strength has been enabled to resist the combined fleets of the upper and lower Mississippi.

The most economical plan for the reduction of Vicksburg now is to push a column from Memphis to Corinth, down the Mississippi Central Railroad to Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi. The occupation of Jackson and the command of the railroad to New Orleans would compel the immediate evacuation of Vicksburg, as well as the retreat of the entire rebel army east of that line, and by another movement of our army from Jackson, Miss., or from Corinth to Meridian, in the State of Mississippi, on the Ohio and Mobile Railroad, especially if aided by a movement of

our gunboats on Mobile, the confederate forces, with all the disloyal men and their slaves, would be compelled to fly east of the Tombigbee.

Mobile being then in our possession, with 100,000 men at Meridian, we would redeem the entire country from Memphis to the Tombigbee River. Of course, I would have the gunboats with a small force at Vicksburg, as auxiliary to this movement. With regard to the canal, Vicksburg can be rendered useless to the confederate army upon the first rise of the river; but I do not advise this because Vicksburg belongs to the United States, and we desire to hold and fortify it, for the Mississippi River at Vicksburg and the Vicksburg-Jackson Railroad will become necessary as a base of our future operations.

Her biographer states that the letters of eminent men in admiration of Miss Carroll's papers, published and unpublished, would fill a volume. Senator Jacob Howard, of the military commission, appointed to inquire into Miss Carroll's services, in his report to the forty-second congress, states:

She did more for the country than all the military generals. She showed where to fight and how to strike the rebellion on the head, possessing withal judicial learning so comprehensive and concise in its style of argument that the government gladly sat at her feet to learn the wisdom of its powers.

From the time that President Lincoln, as commander-in-chief of the army, inaugurated the Tennessee campaign the generals were only enlightened step by step as to the plan, great secrecy being necessary, as Mr. Wade testifies, or the plan would have been frustrated.

The congressional records show that "fully as Lincoln and his military committee recognize the genius of the remarkable woman; now taking the lead, it needed great courage to adopt her plans. Lincoln and Stanton are opposed to having it known that the armies are moving under the plan of a civilian, directed by the President as commander-in-chief. Mr. Lincoln says it was that which made him hesitate to inaugurate the movement against the opinions of the military commanders; and he says he does not want to risk the effect it might have upon the armies if they found that some outside party had originated the campaign; that he wanted the country and the armies to believe they were doing the whole business in saving the country."

A lively debate took place in the house of representatives for the purpose of finding out whether "these victories were arranged or won by men sitting at a distance and engaged in organizing victory," or "whether they had been achieved by bold and resolute men left free to act and to conquer." Miss Carroll sits quietly in the gallery listening to the talk and discussion, while by different members it was proposed that congress "thank" the several generals; and it is suggested that "the system of movements that has culminated in glorious victories, and which will soon put down the rebellion finds root, brain and execution in the commanding general of the American army and the chief executive of the American people."

Mr. Wade, chairman of the military committee, about this time wrote to Miss Carroll:

The country, almost in her last extremity, was saved by your sagacity and unremitting labor; indeed, your services were so great that it is hard to make the world believe it. That all this great work should be brought about by a woman is inconceivable to vulgar minds. You cannot be deprived of the honor of having done greater and more efficient services for the country in time of her greatest peril than any other person in the republic, and a knowledge of this cannot long be repressed.

But the removal of Mr. Lincoln made it necessary at the time to withhold the name of the organizer of union victory, resulting in a suppression of the facts from the knowledge of the people generally. Miss Carroll saw her work sinking into obscurity, while her fellow laborers were receiving honors and emoluments. Says her biographer:

Although the agreement with the government was that she should be remunerated for her services and the employment of her private resources, it was not until some time after the close of the war that she endeavored, by the advice of her friends and prominent members of the war committee, to make a public claim and establish a fact in the history of the war.

Although her claim was supported by the strongest and clearest testimony, it soon became evident that a determined effort was to be made to crush it. Twice Miss Carroll's whole file of papers were stolen from the military committee which was considering her claims. But Miss Carroll fortunately possessed the original drafts, and the military committee and Mr. Hunt, the keeper of the records, having already examined the letters, accepted them and ordered them printed, thus giving them their guarantee.

In July, 1862, Miss Carroll first presented her bill as per agreement with Thomas A. Scott, assistant secretary of war, for the writing, publishing and circulating of her pamphlets. The portion paid her, \$1,250, was paid by Mr. Scott out of his own pocket. Charles O'Conor and other eminent men pronounced her charges "moderate," "reasonable" and even "too small." Miss Carroll's first memorial to congress was March 31, 1870. During the second and third sessions of the forty-fifth congress and the third session of the forty-sixth Miss Carroll's memorials were considered by the military committees of the respective congresses. The evidence of the truth of her claims was incontrovertible, but no action to secure to her public recognition or to testify appreciation of her unparalleled services was taken by either congress, and the final action was too contemptible to be expressed in any form of language.

The military committee, through General Howard, in the forty-first congress, third session, unanimously reported that Miss Carroll did cause the change of the military expedition from the Mississippi to the Tennessee.

Again, in the forty-fourth congress, the military committee of the house favorably considered this claim, and General A. S. Williams was prepared to report, and, being prevented by want of time, placed on record that "this claim is incontestably established, and that the country owes to Miss Carroll a large and honest compensation, both in money and honors, for her services in the national crisis."

General Bragg prepared and suggested the following bill to accompany the report:

Be it enacted, etc., That the same sum and emoluments given by the government to the major generals of the United States army be paid to Anna Ella Carroll from the date of her services to the country, November, 1861, to the time of the passage of this act, and the further payment of the same amount as the pay and emoluments of a major general of the United States army be paid to her in quarterly installments to the end of her life, as a partial measure of recognition of her services to the nation.

General Bragg's memory should be held in reverence for this brave and honest effort to secure justice to Miss Carroll. But the committee, after making a report endorsing Miss Carroll's claim in the strongest manner, hastily withdrew the dignified bill and substituted in its place the following surprising one:

Be it enacted, etc., That the secretary of the interior be and is hereby authorized and directed to place upon the pension rolls of the United States the name of Anna Ella Carroll, and to pay her a pension of \$50 a month from and after the passage of this act, during her life, for the important military service rendered the country by her during the late civil war.

Her biographer fittingly says: "Such a report and such a bill side by side stand an anomaly unparalleled. Of course, the bill died immediately of its own ineffable meanness."

Postponing action indefinitely was the return the United States congress made to the noble woman who had "done more than all the generals" to secure the triumph of the union forces.

Miss Carroll in her later years was broken in health, her family scattered and her fortune gone. Her reward from her country for her unparalleled services during its critical period of struggle for existence was the amazing cowardice of successive congresses that were without sufficient nobility of manhood to fittingly recognize the ability of a woman.

The manhood of to-day would redeem their sex from the dark shadow of ignoble inaction and injustice if they should have placed in the capitol of the nation a portrait of Miss Carroll and a tablet commemorating her signal services.

The following sentence from Mr. Cockrell's report, entered on the congressional lists as "adverse," should have place on this record of Miss Carroll's genius and tribute of national respect and honor:

The transfer of the national armies from the banks of the Ohio up the Tennessee to the decisive position in Mississippi was the greatest military event in the interest of the human race known to modern ages, and will ever rank among the very few strategic movements in the world's history that have decided the fate of empires and peoples, and no true history can be written that does not assign to the memorialist the credit of the conception.

The report was adverse only in regard to compensation. Her services, both literary and military, were admitted. Governor Hicks, of Maryland, in 1861 wrote Miss Carroll: "No money can ever pay you for what you have done for the state and the country in this terrible crisis, but I believe the time will come when all will know the debt they owe you."

But for the ignominious smothering in congress the people would have been made aware of what credit and appreciation were due "the great unrecognized member of Lincoln's cabinet."

Earthly honors are of no account to Miss Carroll now, but a national recognition of its citizens who render such eminent service as did this noble woman is a moral exaltation to a people. Such a womanhood is equally as great a glory to the republic as is the brave manhood that fought its battles.

The memory of such worthy service should be fittingly preserved and engraven on the minds of future generations as an inspiration to noble service to country and to manhood. Manhood and womanhood and faithful, loyal service are the only enduring riches and sure guarantee of the prosperity of the republic. LUCINDA B. CHANDLER.

Chicago Times Herald 1875

OUR NEW ENGLAND LETTER.

Long, John D.

BY C. S. DEWING, D. D.

The Secretary of the Navy on Lincoln.

Wednesday of this week closed a notable series of lectures at the Old South Church on some of the most distinguished actors, in the anti-slavery movement, that at least hastened the irrepressible conflict more than thirty years ago. These lectures are designed especially for the attendants at our public schools, and the object is to cultivate a love for historical research. It is a grand conception, and is most admirably carried out. A desire to hear the estimate of Hon. John D. Long, of the most notable personage who participated in that struggle and who by a stroke of his pen struck the shackles from 4,000,000 of slaves, led to a somewhat determined effort to obtain a seat. The church was crowded, and old and young listened with wrapped attention for more than an hour to a masterly review of "The Life and Work of Abraham Lincoln."

The speaker gave a striking description of the man and his ancestry. He spoke of the usual reference to his early lack of opportunities, as is usual in speaking of our great men. Mr. Long declared his early training and opportunities were exceptionally valuable for the work that God had designed him to accomplish. Lincoln, knew how to speak, read and write. What more do we really teach our boys to-day? He knew the Bible, which cannot he said of everybody in Boston. He read Burns, and this with the Bible gave him sentiment and inspiration. "Æsop" and "Pilgrim's Progress" taught him aptness and pregnant illustration. He was a resident of three States before he was twenty-one, and made a river trip to New Orleans on a flat boat, a longer journey than Jefferson had taken at his age. While at this city he saw for the first time the auction and whipping of slaves, and the impression was indelible, and may be said to have been the birth of his anti-slavery sentiment.

His next grade as scholar was as clerk in a village store in Illinois, which was declared to be immeasurably more valuable than this position in a Boston store to-day as an educational influence. Another grade in his schooling was in the Black Hawk war, so that instead of having no opportunities, as popularly considered, his were really the grandest. At the age of twenty four Lincoln became a surveyor, and soon entered politics, became a candidate for the Legislature, was beaten the first time, (as was also the speaker,) and ought to have been but succeeded better the next time. These preparatory grades of schooling, instead of being of the poorest, were, according to the judgment of the speaker, hardly paralleled in our whole history.

At the age of twenty-eight he had already begun the practice of law in Springfield, Ill., and soon became noted for his genius, rising easily to the first rank. He lectured on many subjects and was on the stump as a Henry Clay Whig as the moving spirit of the Harrison campaign of 1840, and was the head of the Whig electoral ticket in 1844.

In 1848 he spoke in several towns in New England. So far from being the unknown rail splitter, he is so often described, he was from 1840 the foremost man in his own region, from 1855 to 1861 the leading opponent of slavery and politics. He opposed the Mexican war and slavery in the District of Columbia.

The Secretary of the Navy divided the history of the country into three great eras: 1. The era of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. 2. Of the Amended Constitution, when the judicial decision of Marshall and the oratory of Webster had nationalized its spirit. 3. The exercise of its power as contained in the letter of the Constitution. Lincoln was the typical spokesman of this last era. Seward had

stated this solution, but Lincoln had not only stated it but cut the Gordian knot. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Lincoln's life would have been eminent had it ended before the stirring events among which he was destined to cross the threshold and enter a temple, where he was to serve the Lord as high priest and where he was also to become the sacrifice.

The speaker then described the celebrated oratorical debate between Lincoln and Douglass, gave a discriminating picture of the elegance of diction, logic and alertness of Douglass to overthrow the arguments of his antagonist. He was then considered the best equipped man in the country to present that side of the controversy. Yet Lincoln in homely phrase conciseness and apt illustration, and its appeal to the moral sense, was victor. Douglass put forth the specious plea of squatter sovereignty, which Lincoln hopelessly shattered with this homely definition "Squatter sovereignty amounts simply to this—that if one man wishes to enslave another man, a third man should not interfere."

Lincoln was at this time without a superior in the country as a model of clear and forcible expression, illuminated by a vein of humor. He described the Cooper Union speech before the most cultured audience the commercial center of this continent could gather, his awkward manner, sallow, rough features and ill-fitting clothes. He was introduced by the poet, W. C. Bryant, and by that address placed the Republican sentiment on a basis from which it has never been removed. Lincoln was the logical candidate for the presidency after that speech. A most marked change came over him after his election. His inauguration marked a new era. Instead of being as up to this time the most impetuous of prophets, he became the cautious, deliberative administrator, and was assailed by his friends for his seeming cowardice, yet here his wisdom shone even more luminous. He realized that he was elected President of the whole Union. Eleven States had seceded and the border States were so balanced that the slightest pressure would turn the scale and the breach would be irreparable. His foresight and wisdom in great measure saved the nation from this disastrous result. Mr. Long remarked that the world rarely ever had a more pathetic sight than this man pursuing his way as revealed by his convictions, unmoved by the attacks of his enemies or the assaults of his friends.

Lincoln's sympathy with the common people, his homely sincerity, have assured him a place in the people's hearts a little closer, a little dearer, than is held by any other public man. He had not Washington's grandeur, the mental acumen of Hamilton, or the intellectual power of Webster. His greatness was composed of natural qualities, as a hillside towering o'er a plain, yet a part of it; therefore, no man, however great in our history, could have filled the place he occupied as well as he.

Literature

The current number of the Century Magazine has an article by Frederick Trevor Hill on "Lincoln, the Lawyer," in which, after making numerous statements that seem rather more fanciful than justified by historical facts, he says:

It was Lincoln, the lawyer, who wrote the state papers which are to-day recognized as models of finish and form, not only in his own country, but wherever statescraft is understood, and it was Lincoln, the lawyer, whose shrewdness and tact not only saved the nation from foreign complications, but paved the way for the Alabama arbitration and award.

Biographers are often betrayed by the enthusiasm of their subjects into statements more eulogistic than accurate. Lincoln was a good lawyer, but there were four members of his Cabinet who were as good lawyers as he, and each of whom had a wider legal reputation than he had. These were William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Edward Bates and Edwin M. Stanton. During Mr. Lincoln's administration all important state papers were submitted to full Cabinet meetings, and were only approved after full and careful consultation.

Of course, Mr. Lincoln, as President, had supreme authority, but he was by no means the originator, much less the drafter, of all the great measures of his administration. It would be as reasonable to claim that he wrote the able reports of Secretary Chase on finance as that he wrote the state papers issued by Secretary Seward. The latter was abundantly able to write state papers, and while he undoubtedly sometimes received and adopted suggestions from the President, he carried on the great bulk of the diplomatic correspondence of the war, than which no statesman of any country has a finer monument.

Mr. Seward was Lincoln's first Cabinet appointment, and on informing him of his appointment Mr. Lincoln wrote that he offered him the State portfolio "with the belief that your position in the public eye, your integrity, ability, learning and great experience, all combined to make it an appointment preeminently fit to be made." Mr. Seward was not only a great lawyer, but he had served four years as a member of the Senate committee on foreign affairs and was familiar with European politics when he became Secretary of State. He did not have to be shown. No doubt he and Mr. Lincoln sometimes differed on questions of policy, the views of one prevailing sometimes and sometimes those of the other. In the Trent affair, when the capture of Mason and Slidell off a British vessel brought us to the verge of war with Great Britain, Mr. Seward was in favor of giving the men up, while Mr. Lincoln was opposed to it and wrote the draft of a paper proposing arbitration. He finally yielded the point, and, happily for the country, Mr. Seward's view prevailed.

There is no evidence that Mr. Lincoln wrote a single one of "the state papers which are to-day recognized as models of finish and form," or that he had any hand or part in the diplomatic correspondence which paved the way for the settlement of the Alabama claims. Mr. Lincoln was a good lawyer and a great statesman, but there were others. The magazine writer claims too much for him and does injustice to his great Secretary of State.

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Lincoln and His Cabinet.

It has long been customary for those elected to the presidency to choose some of their cabinet officers from among those who had opposed them for the nomination. William H. Seward, of New York, was the strongest candidate against Abraham Lincoln in the national republican convention of 1860, and was invited to sit in the cabinet as secretary of state. He accepted the office, and confidently expected to be the dominating force in the new administration. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, another man of national fame, because secretary of the treasury, and like Seward, had an exalted idea of his ability and importance.

Perhaps it would not be going too far to say that these finely dressed, highly-polished gentlemen who claimed to be statesmen—as, indeed, they were—had a feeling of contempt for the tall, homely, plain man from the Western wilderness, and regarded him as nothing more than a particularly adroit politician, whose success had been due very largely to their efforts.

Gideon Welles of Connecticut, was secretary of the navy in the Lincoln cabinet, and from the first instalments of his diary, now published for the first time, it appears that he, too, was in a superior frame of mind when the new administration settled down to its work. According to these notes, Stanton appears testy, vindictive, scheming: Chase was jealous, vain, and meddling; Seward was tricky and inclined to dodge, while the president was quiet, calm, extremely patient, and displayed a sagacity unmatched by all his adversaries combined. When Washington was president, there was no question in any man's mind of his superiority; he was a greater man than any of his advisers, and they not only knew that, but knew that he possessed the confidence of his countrymen and had greater claims to it than they. But when Lincoln took up his great task there was no such admission; on the contrary, it was distinctly denied that he was in any important respect superior. It was not till two decades after Lincoln's death that the world knew of the amazing letter which Seward wrote to him, practically offering to take upon himself the functions of the president. Commenting upon this letter which was first made public in the life of Lincoln by Nicolay and Hay, the New York "Evening Post" says: "It was a fearful ordeal for the Illinois lawyer, unskilled in statesmanship. Here was his secretary of state, the brilliant, the admired, the favorite of the educated classes, not only proposing to him the mad-cap policy of defying the world in arms, so as to unite the dissevered parts of the country, but plainly intimating his disbelief in the president's capacity and initiative, and proffering himself as the leader and saviour of a feeble administration. A timid man would have been frightened, and either yielded to Seward or pretended to, while planning to get rid of him. A sensitive and violent man would have flown into a passion, lost the services of Seward, and disrupted his administration at the very start."

Lincoln did neither. He quietly let Seward know that he expected both to direct his own administration and to have from his secretary of state loyal co-operation. It was as easily and naturally done as if it were merely a case of adjusting the relations of a lawyer and his chief clerk in a Springfield office, but it was a crowning proof of Lincoln's magnanimity and fitness for great affairs of state. Seward never wrote him any more letters of that tenor! He had his lesson."

The world knows something of the embarrassments under which Lincoln labored—of the superiority felt by some of his advisers, of the intrigues of still more of them, of the frequent humiliations—but it will never know the full truth. The fame of Seward has suffered greatly since his letter was published; the fame of Chase has continued to diminish ever since his death, for many evidences have come to light that he was petty, querulous, intriguing, and discontented. But the "Evening Post" thinks that the man whose fame suffered most was Greeley. "He, too, felt himself above Lincoln by a thousand diameters; yet from the pitch of his assumed greatness as a statesman, he has fallen grievously, as history has set the forces of truth at work. Impatient, vacillating, impetuous, vainglorious (consult that letter which he wrote to Lincoln complaining that great men were getting to be few, and that even his own health was not good!), Greeley was about as ill-fitted for high office as a man could be. He thought himself a great politician, but even there Lincoln beat him out of sight. Greeley's fatuousness in misjudging a political movement has just now been once more strikingly proved in a letter published by the biographers of Carl Schurz. Anything more pathetically absurd than his confidence that he was going to be elected president in 1872, when the very heavens were thundering the ruin of his campaign, it would be hard to find." The mention of Schurz calls to mind his failings; he, too, suffered in reputation as the years went on. He was a statesman who lacked conviction or consistency; he was a general with many deficiencies; he was a great orator and perhaps acquired a greater mastery of the English language than any other man born in Germany, but how much his fame suffered because of his foolish, egotistical letter to Lincoln! It was written with

a sense of vast superiority and was so absurd in the light of subsequent events that it will live as a curiosity, long after everything else Schurz wrote has been forgotten.

That this remarkable group of great men came finally to acknowledge Lincoln's vast superiority was not due to any effort on his part. He merely went on doing his duty, day after day, with such devotion, such unselfishness, such tenderness, such firmness when that quality was necessary, such patience, such unmatched largeness of soul that they could not fail to see in him the greatest American since Washington.

Lincoln's Clashes with Cabinet.

[UNNUMERABLE stories are told of Lincoln's clashes with cabinet members, particularly Stanton. There is no doubt he often embarrassed the war and other departments by his orders, requests, and suggestions. Sometimes the cabinet officer had his way, but sometimes, too, Lincoln got what he wanted by some means or other.

The late John N. Kasson of Iowa, in describing an attempt to secure the promotion of a certain colonel to the rank of brigadier general, said that he had secured the president's order for the promotion and handed it to Stanton. He glanced at it and said, in an angry tone, "I shan't do it, sir; I shan't do it!" passing the paper up to his clerk. Utterly amazed at his words and indignant at his tone I inquired why he refused to obey the president's order. "It isn't the way to do it, sir, and I shan't do it." I was going on to speak of the merits of the officer and of the proceeding, my wrath rising, when he cut me off with "I don't propose to argue the question with you, sir; I shan't do it." Utterly indignant, I turned to the clerk and asked to withdraw the paper. "Don't you let him have it, sir," said Stanton; "don't let him have it." The clerk, whose hands were trembling like an eastern slave before his pasha, withdrew the document which he was in the act of giving me. I felt my indignation getting too strong for me, and putting on my hat and turning my back to the secretary, I slowly went to the door, with set teeth, saying to myself, "As you will not hear me in your own forum you shall hear from me in mine." *1 P. S.*

A few days later, after recovering my coolness, I reported the affair to the president. A look of vexation came over his face and he seemed unwilling then to talk of it, and desired me to see him another day. I did so, when he gave me a positive order for the promotion of the colonel to be a brigadier, and told me to take it over to the war department. I replied that I could not speak again with Mr. Stanton till he apologized for his insulting manner to me on the previous occasion. "O," said the president, "Stanton has gone to Fortress Monroe and Dana is acting. He will attend to it for you." This he said with a manner of relief, as if it was a piece of good luck to find a man who would obey his orders. The nom-

ination was sent to the senate and confirmed.

Soon after this incident I walked into the house from my committee room one morning and found Thaddeus Stevens on the floor defending Stanton on some question. My opportunity had come. I hurried to the clerk's desk to find the question under debate. It was a resolution for an investigation of the inmates of the old capitol prison, where it was charged upon the administration that many innocent men, including unionists, were confined by arbitrary orders from the war department, some of them for criticisms on the secretary's action; and not only without written charges against them, but with a refusal to let them know why they were arrested.

Such action I knew to be abhorrent to Mr. Lincoln's sense of justice and equity, and that the sole responsibility was on the able, but tyrannical, secretary, in whose presence I had seen men and women tremble. As soon as Mr. Stevens had finished I sought the floor. I let loose my denunciations of his willful and arbitrary action, for which I denied the responsibility of President Lincoln; and, in support of the president, related an instance, in my personal experience, of his disobedience to his chief. In three minutes every newspaper and every pen in the house was laid aside, and everybody listening to what was equally an assault on the secretary's conduct and a defense of the president. The vote was soon taken, and as I remember the figures, only six votes were given on the secretary's side to 125 for the resolution.

I think it was on the following night that a numerous and, it was said, a general jail delivery was made; and rumor had it that the men were carried away in carriages under promises to make no further complaint. At all events, it was the end of the system of arbitrary and causeless arrests. Messages and letters from far and near came to me, with thanks for my arraignment of the secretary's action, and giving instances which showed that there was, in Washington especially, a reign of moral terror of which I had no previous knowledge. The next time I saw Mr. Lincoln I remember well his change of manner to me. He showed his gratification in his peculiar and

familiar manner, by his twinkling eyes, and by his slapping me on the thigh, as I thought quite unnecessarily. His war secretary was an able man and rendered enormous service to the union; he was resolute and often selfishly willful, and the president was in awe of his arbitrary character. While his patience was unequaled among public men, Stanton had none at all.

WHEN LINCOLN TREATED HIS CABINET LIKE SCHOOL-BOYS

This is the note that Lincoln wrote to his Cabinet members who had been wran-

LINCOLN was patient almost beyond human belief. Stanton, his Secretary of War, called him a "fool," and Lincoln continued Stanton in office. And Chase, his Secretary of the Treasury, used his place in the Cabinet to conduct a campaign for the Presidency that would have meant the defeat of his chief.

All this Lincoln stood, refusing to let personal considerations enter in where men were rendering service to the Union.

But he knew when to be firm also.

I must myself be the judge how long to retain, and when to remove any of you from, his position. It would greatly pain me to discover any of you endeavoring to focus another's removal, or, in any way to prejudice him before the public. Such endeavor would be as wrong to me, and much worse, as wrong to the country. My wish is that on this subject, no remark be made, nor question asked, by any of you, here or elsewhere, now or hereafter.

gling and backbiting. It was his patient, simple method of disciplining smaller men.

Here (reproduced from *Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln*, by Helen Nicolay, published by the Century Company) is the facsimile of a memorandum that he read to his Cabinet when a fight was on between Chase and Seward, each trying to force the resignation of the other.

It sounds almost like a school-teacher's admonition to his pupils—and the men to whom he read it, remember, were the great men of the nation, three of them at least greater, in his own opinion, than Lincoln himself.

ON THE EVE OF WAR

Fifty Years Ago Today.

March 5, 1861—The Senate Confirms Lincoln's Cabinet Selections—The Men Who Were to Take Up with the Illinois Lawyer the Conduct of a Mighty War.



1. William H. Seward, secretary of state; 2. Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury; 3. Gideon Welles, secretary of the navy; 4. Edward Bates, attorney general; 5. Montgomery Blair, postmaster general; 6. Caleb B. Smith, secretary of the interior; 7. Simon Cameron, secretary of war.

FIFTY years ago the United States senate, in special session, confirmed President Lincoln's selections for his cabinet.

In the history of the country no cabinet was ever formed for more trying labors, or from more discordant elements. The republican party was new and Lincoln was its first President. He was under the political necessity of selecting for his cabinet men representing the different elements that had composed the party strength at the polls.

At such a task no man was keener than Lincoln. Such power as he was believed to possess in those days was thought by the public at large to lie chiefly in his political cunning. His towering strength in statesmanship was yet to be developed, and one of the first evidences of it the American peo-

ple were to obtain lay in the skill with which he formed and controlled his cabinet.

Long before his election Mr Lincoln had turned over in his mind the names of the various men he would like to have in his cabinet. When the news of his election came over the wires to Springfield, his Illinois home, he sat in the little telegraph office reading the messages of victory until far into the night, and before he left the place for home his cabinet was decided upon.

The names of the men confirmed by the senate 50 years ago today were practically those chosen that night of the election. The patience, tact and faith that had been needful in forming the cabinet, only the student of Lincoln's life may know; but even to the occasional reader they appear remarkable.

Warring Factions.

From the time of its inception in 1854 the republican party, formed to combat the extension of slavery, had gained its strength by accessions from other parties.

One of its most powerful elements was composed of the surviving whigs, whose party since the days of Henry Clay had been distinguished mainly by its adherence to the principles of a protective tariff.

The leader of the whig wing of the republican party at the time of Lincoln's nomination was William H. Seward, senator from New York, and recognized leader of the republicans. Seward had been the convention's favorite on the first ballot, and when the prize of the nomination had gone to Lincoln he took it rather hard.

Seward's was the first name Lincoln had put down on his cabinet list, and the place opposite his name was the best in Lincoln's gift, that of secretary of state.

Seeing an opportunity of extending his influence over the new administration, Senator Seward had accepted the post as soon as it was offered.

Lincoln's second choice of a name was that of Salmon P. Chase, another defeated candidate for the nomination Lincoln had won, a senator from Ohio, and but recently its governor. To him Lincoln offered the post of secretary of the treasury.

Mr Chase occupied the same relation toward the democrats who had voted with the republicans as Mr Seward did toward the whigs. Thus each of the two men first chosen by Lincoln represented a faction in the republican party, and a powerful one. Each leader was jealous of the other. Each strove from the first to obtain a mastery over Lincoln to the exclusion of the other.

Between the representatives of these warring factions Lincoln moved calmly on, unswayed by either, and molding both to his purpose without either suspecting his strength.

The State Completed.

In completing the slate for his cabinet Lincoln had been guided, as in his choice of the first two names, by the ardor of certain sections of the country, and certain elements in his party to have a hand in the government.

Under some Presidents counselors thus obtained might have proven a source of weakness to the government. Under Lincoln they were to prove a source of strength.

Each part of the north that could be enlisted to advantage in the coming fight for the union was enlisted through Lincoln's cabinet. From the wavering border state of Missouri he chose Edward Bates of St Louis to be his attorney general. Bates was still another candidate against Lincoln for the presidential nomination.

From Indiana, which had been a "pivotal" state in the election, he chose Caleb B. Smith for secretary of the interior. From New England, with its shipping interests, he chose Gideon Welles of Connecticut for secretary of the navy.

The two remaining portfolios, the war and postoffice departments, gave Lincoln cause for much thought. Pennsylvania, with its powerful manufacturing interests, its high tariff traditions and its strong surviving whig element, had urged Simon Cameron for secretary of the treasury from the day of the Chicago convention, through the dominant wing of the party in the state, backed by Mr Seward. On the other hand an active minority bitterly opposed Cameron, declaring him to be allied to persons of doubtful honesty.

Mr Cameron had been in the senate as a democrat in the 40s., and had returned to the senate in the 50's as a republican. He, too, had been in the balloting when Lincoln won the nomination. His Pennsylvania friends, while laying claim to the treasury portfolio in his behalf, strenuously opposed Chase, whose low tariff tendencies were represented to Mr Lincoln as inimical to the state's industrial progress.

It was no time to split hairs over tariff matters and Lincoln mollified the Pennsylvanians by appointing Cameron secretary of war.

The appointment of Cameron was the only weak one Mr Lincoln made in forming his cabinet. Probably he never would have made it but for unwise and unauthorized promises made by his friends on the eve of the Chicago convention and from a feeling that by accepting Cameron he could avoid a breach with Pennsylvania, which might embarrass him in holding together his other appointees.

The slate was completed with the name of Montgomery Blair of Maryland as postmaster general. This appointment, like that of Mr Bates, was made for the purpose of appealing to the fealty of a border state.

Lincoln's Mastery.

But the completion of the slate did not mean that Lincoln's trials at cabinet-making were over.

The war between the Seward and Chase factions raged to the very day of Lincoln's inauguration. Each was determined that its leader should control Lincoln. Neither suspected the mastery of the plain country lawyer from Illinois.

Rumors of changes made at the last

hour in the cabinet makeup agitated the politicians.

When a solicitous friend rushed into Lincoln's presence to ask if it were true, as he had heard, that the slate had been broken, Lincoln calmly replied:

"When that slate breaks again it will break at the top."

When somebody pointed out to him that he had placed four democrats and only three whigs in his cabinet, he replied that he himself was an old-line whig and would be there "to make the parties even," a statement at which the veteran politicians about him privately smiled. That Lincoln should dominate the ambitious and powerful leaders he had placed in his cabinet seemed to them amusing.

That Lincoln was at the helm and the men he had appointed as his counselors were subject to his will was to be soon illustrated, however, in the case of Mr Seward.

Seward's Defection.

The plotting of the Seward and Chase factions bore fruit on March 2, only two days before Lincoln's inauguration, in a determination on Mr Seward's part to test the strength of the President-elect, and force a choice between himself and his rival, if not for place itself, at least for preference with the President.

He therefore wrote Lincoln a letter on the date given, stating that "circumstances which have occurred since I expressed to you in December last my willingness to accept the office of secretary of state seem to me to render it my duty to ask leave to withdraw that consent."

This, from the man who had assumed the position of guide, counselor and friend to Lincoln from the moment of the President's arrival in Washington, was like a bolt from the blue.

The note was received on Saturday. Mr Lincoln was to be inaugurated Monday. If Seward was to drop out it would appear there was little time left in which to fill his place.

Yet Lincoln made no sign until the inauguration procession was forming in the street under the windows of his hotel. Then he handed a letter to his private secretary, remarking: "I can't afford to let Seward take the first trick."

The letter was to Mr Seward. "Your proposed course is a subject of the most painful solicitude with me," said Lincoln, "and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 o'clock a.m. tomorrow."

Cabinet's Great Task.

The words and tone of this letter were accepted by Mr Seward as evidence that his ascendancy over the Chase faction was now established. He had threatened to withdraw and had been asked to remain.

The first official visitor received by President Lincoln after his arrival at the White House was Mr Seward. The two men had a long and confidential talk. The next day—50 years ago today—a few hours before Mr Lincoln's cabinet list was to be sent to the senate, Mr Seward wrote Mr Lincoln that "deferring to your opinions and wishes," he withdrew his letter of March 2.

The rival leaders in the cabinet thus took their official places with the prize of political power their aim. Mr Seward believed he had outwitted Mr Chase, and would direct the course of the cabinet and the acts of the President. Mr Chase, less adroit, was bitter in his thoughts of Seward, and had no conception of the kind of man Lincoln was.

While the rival leaders thus began their labors in the cabinet, Mr Lincoln, in his quiet way, was already occupied with the problem of shaping these discordant but powerful elements in his cabinet to the great and overshadowing task of defending the constitution and keeping the union whole.

Boston Globe 3-5-1911

LINCOLN DOMINATED HIS CABINET IN WAR CRISIS

He Stood Firm After He Had Given Decision; Wharton Barker, His Friend, Tells Story

By Wharton Barker

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The greatness of Abraham Lincoln was not guessed until after his election to the presidency; it was not realized, even by



the members of his cabinet, until the emancipation proclamation was assurred.

I first saw Mr. Lincoln in February, 1861, when, on his way to Washington to assume the office of president, he remained in Philadelphia overnight and, at sunrise on February 22, he spoke

in Independence Hall and delivered the formal address which is familiar to everyone. After the ceremony he appeared on a platform, erected where the statue of Washington now stands, and unfurled a flag from the staff above the hall.

He turned to a vast crowd that filled Chestnut street from Sixth to Fifth and beyond. A messenger boy, at the moment, made his way to Mr. Lincoln's side and handed him a telegram which he opened, glanced thru, and quietly thrust into his trousers pocket, while he proceeded with the impromptu speech which the throng expected of him apropos of the flag raising.

No one except Mr. Lincoln knew the import of that telegram. It was the now historic Pinkerton dispatch advising him that conspirators intended to murder him as he passed thru Baltimore from Harrisburg.

The speech Mr. Lincoln then made has never, to my knowledge, been printed, history recording the formal address that preceded it inside Independence Hall and ignoring the impromptu utterance because no exact report of those few sentences was preserved. Yet it was in that unprepared speech and no doubt because of the dispatch his left hand clutched where it lay in his pocket, that he spoke these impressive words, the foundations of his public conduct:

"I would rather be assassinated here and now, upon this most sacred spot in all America, than ever abate one jot of what I may conceive to be my public duty."

These Words Key to Character

All who heard those words had the key to President Lincoln's character and to his course thruout his conduct of the affairs of the nation.

In choosing his cabinet he had not the

slightest reluctance to name men whom many people believed to be greater than he. Their selection was part of what he conceived to be his public duty. But he never forgot that the responsibility of the government was his.

There were numbers of citizens who, at the time, believed that the cabinet should and would dominate the president; members of the cabinet themselves shared the belief. The view prevailed, within and without cabinet circles, for a period of about two years. Then statesmen, journalists and the public awakened to the fact that Abraham Lincoln alone directed the nation's destiny.

It was in connection with the emancipation proclamation and at the time of military defeat for the federal arms that the president's control was asserted and recognized. Nothing, hitherto, has been disclosed as to the manner in which Mr. Lincoln made his cabinet realize that he did not shirk the responsibility of government. The story was told me by Edwin M. Stanton, the great secretary of war.

Garrison, Greeley, Phillips and the other abolitionists were sick at heart over the president's refusal to appreciate the fact that the abolition of chattel slavery must be realized if the Union was to be preserved. Politicians despaired of leadership by the president. Sympathizers in the north with the confederates were almost confident that defeat of the Unionist party would come prior to the presidential election of 1864. Statesmen of Great Britain and France had concluded that the time was at hand for European recognition of the independence of the confederate states.

Ready to Recognize Confederacy

Alexander the Second, of Russia, in the summer of 1879, said to me, that, in the autumn of 1862, Napoleon the Third of France, thru a special ambassador, had advised him that France and Great Britain would make the move if Russia would remain passive. His reply was:

"Say to France and to Great Britain that recognition of the independence of the confederate states of America by the governments of those two nations will be considered by Russia as *casus belli*." He added:

"You will remember Russian fleets soon arrived, one at New York, and the other at San Francisco, and remained in American waters for some months. And there was no recognition by Europe of the independence of the confederate states of America."

President Lincoln knew nothing, at the time, of the proposal and its rejection. But he did know of the clamor for recognition of the confederacy both in Great Britain and France.

Prior to the announcement of the preliminary proclamation of emancipation, the president summoned the members of his cabinet to the White House. When Mr. Stanton entered the room the presi-

dent, with his feet on the mantelpiece and his head resting on the back of his chair, was reading to Mr. Seward, the secretary of state, who stood beside him, extracts from a humorous sketch by Orpheus C. Kerr.

"The president," said Mr. Stanton, in describing the scene, "greeted me with a nod and went on reading. Other members of the cabinet came in, one by one, until all were assembled, the president still reading aloud from the Kerr article. He went on with his reading for a full ten minutes, until I became impatient and said:

"Mr. President, if you have nothing important to say to your cabinet, I ask

to be excused, that I may go back to my work at the war office."

"The president lowered his heels from the mantel, put aside the book, and said: "Seward, Stanton never has any time or fun. Gentlemen, please take your seats."

"The president then read the preliminary emancipation proclamation. I rose to comment. So did Seward. But the president rose, in his turn, stepped behind his chair, and, raising both hands, wept them downward in an imperative gesture that returned us to our seats.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I am president of the United States, responsible for the acts of the government. You are mem-

bers of my cabinet to whom I should go when I want advice. This is an occasion when the president wants no advice. He has called you here only to let you know, before the country knows, what the government intends to do."

"Then, after a short pause, still standing, he added:

"Good morning, gentlemen!"

"And the president left the room.

"After that," Mr. Stanton told me, "members of the cabinet knew when to speak."

From that day until the day of his death, America knew, the world knew, that Abraham Lincoln was the nation's executive in every sense.

LINCOLN'S CABINET

Lincoln's original Cabinet in 1861 consisted of the following seven men: William H. Seward of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of Treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney General; Montgomery Blair of the District of Columbia, Postmaster General; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Secretary of Navy, and Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, Secretary of Interior. Chase was later succeeded by William Dennison of Ohio, and Smith by John P. Usher of Indiana. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was Vice-President during Lincoln's first administration. He was succeeded by Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln as President.—The Pathfinder. 3/1/21

"The Most Perfect Ruler"

From Collier's Weekly.

How amazingly he (Lincoln) could forbear! He formed a cabinet of men who despised his capacities, each one regarding *himself* as the instrument by which God would save America.

"I know that I can save the country, and I know that no other man can," wrote Seward.

"I will make Abe Lincoln President of the United States," Stanton confided to a friend who asked him what he expected to do as a member of the cabinet.

In the cabinet were others who were contemptuous of him, making no secret of their conviction that they were far abler than he.

Yet Lincoln kept them all, using each man to the limit of that man's capacity, refusing to be hurried into decisions, declining to allow personal affronts to influence his public course.

"Quarrel not at all," he said once to a young man. "No man, resolved to make the most of himself, can spare time for personal contention. Still less can he afford to take the consequences, including the vitiation of his temper and the loss of self-control. Yield larger things to which you show no more than equal right, and yield lesser things though clearly your own. Better give your path to a dog than be bitten by him in contesting for the right. Even killing the dog would not cure the bite."

There were those who thought he yielded too much, that he hesitated too long. But even Stanton, his bitterest critic, ended in eulogy. "There lies," he said, "the most perfect ruler of men that the world has ever seen."

Who can forget that momentous cabinet meeting called in the darkest days of the war? Around the table sat the various secretaries, solemn-faced and silent. To their amazement, Lincoln, instead of addressing himself to the business in hand, picked up a little volume and, with frequent chuckles, read to them a chapter from Artemus Ward.

The cabinet members were too astonished for speech. One man, glowering his protest, was tempted to leave the room. Lincoln, unheeding, read the chapter through and, laying down the book, looked at their tired faces with a sigh.

"Gentlemen, why don't you laugh?" he exclaimed. "With the fearful strain that is upon me night and day, if I did not laugh I should die; and you need this medicine as much as I."

So saying, he turned to his tall hat, which was on the table, and drew out of it what Stanton described as a "little white paper."

That little white paper was the Emancipation Proclamation.

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THE CABINET

LINCOLN'S BIOGRAPHERS tell us that in Cabinet meeting one day he put a measure to vote, found an overwhelming majority opposed, and remarked good-humoredly, "Seven nays, one aye; the ayes have it." On another occasion he read aloud to his Cabinet the draft of his proclamation abolishing slavery, but informed them that no objections on their part could induce him to withhold it or even modify it. President Wilson, on dismissing a Secretary of State, declared his preference for a man whose mind would more readily "go along with his." Nothing in the Constitution—indeed, nothing in any Act of Congress—requires a President to heed his Cabinet's advice. Yet Mr. Harding, after modestly underrating his own talents, announced that, if elected, he would surround himself with able advisers. It remained for him to decide what constitutes an able adviser and make appointments accordingly. Those appointments require confirmation by the Senate, but the Senate is in the habit of confirming all appointments to the Cabinet.

Primarily, however, Cabinet officers are not advisers to the President. Primarily, they are heads of departments. As Grace A. Turkington explains in "My Country," "one attends to the business with foreign countries (the Secretary of State—'State' here means the nation); another attends to the money affairs of the nation (the Secretary of the Treasury); a third supervises the affairs of the Army in time of peace and also of war (the Secretary of War); the fourth has charge of the affairs of the Navy (the Secretary of the Navy); one is a lawyer who protects the United States from lawbreakers and sees that all the affairs of the Government are conducted according to law (the Attorney-General); another is general business manager of the Post-office Department (the Postmaster-General); the seventh attends to a variety of things—pensions for soldiers, Indian affairs, the patent department, the national parks, education, Alaska and the Territories, the vast forest reservations and irrigation works, etc. (the Secretary of the Interior); the eighth, one of the most important of all, must do everything possible to increase the agricultural wealth of the country (the Secretary of Agriculture); the ninth attends to the trade problems of the country (the Secretary of Commerce); the tenth spends all his time in the interest of the wage-earner (the Secretary of Labor)." By what right, one asks, naturally enough, do these heads of departments unite to form a Cabinet and advise the President?

This, so Prof. Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University, reminds us in "American Government and Polities," is "a matter of custom, not of law, for the Cabinet, as a collective body, has no legal existence or powers. Congress, in creating the first departments in 1789, did not recognize, in any way, the possibility of a Cabinet council composed of the heads." However, "Washington regarded the four chief executive officials, including the Attorney-General, who was not made head of a department until 1870, as his confidential advisers, tho the term Cabinet was not immediately applied to them."

Apparently the idea of Cabinet meetings had already taken form in 1791, when Washington, then traveling in the South, wrote of three of his secretaries: "I have express my wish, if any serious or important crisis should arise, that the Secretaries for the Departments of State, Treasury, and War may hold consultations thereon, to determine whether they are of such a nature as to demand my personal attendance." As Professor Beard goes on to say: "During his first administration, Washington, by a gradual process, welded the department heads into an executive council, and by 1793 we find the term Cabinet or Cabinet Council applied to this group of Presidential advisers."

The Cabinet has since changed only in numbers and as regards the rules adopted for its meetings. It now "meets regularly at stated times fixt by the President in the rules of the White House, printed in *The Congressional Directory*. The meetings are usually secret, and no record is kept of the transactions. As the special business of each department is discuss separately with the President by each officer, only matters of weight relative to the general policy of the Administration are brought up for consideration at Cabinet meetings. Any important piece of legislation desired by the President or by a Cabinet officer and about to be submitted to Congress will very probably be discuss in detail, especially if it concerns party principles. Votes are seldom taken on propositions, and they are of no significance beyond securing a mere expression of opinion."

No outside power, not even Congress, has the least control over what goes on in Cabinet meetings. When the Senate asked President Jackson for a document said to have been read aloud by him in Cabinet meeting, he replied, according to J. D. Richardson's "Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897": "The Executive is a coordinate and independent branch of the Government equally with the Senate, and I have yet to learn under what constitutional authority that branch of the legislature has a right to require of me an account of any communication, either verbally or in writing, made to the heads of departments acting as a Cabinet council. As well might I be required to detail to the Senate the free and private conversations I have held with those officers on any subject relating to their duties and my own."

Criticism of Cabinet appointments—a favorite journalistic pastime in America—turns generally, not upon the fitness of the office for the man, but upon the fitness of the man for the office, whereas any one who will run a finger down the lists of officials and their duties, as printed in "The World Almanac" will marvel at the range and variety of responsibilities certain department heads are required to assume. Why, for instance, must a single department head, the Secretary of the Interior, be responsible for pensions, education, Indian affairs, patents, the Geological Survey, the Reclamation Service, the Bureau of Mines, the National Park Service? Departments have greatly multiplied since Washington's day. Ought they, perhaps, to multiply still further? Is it humanly possible for any one man to supervise nine different subdepartments simultaneously?

A somewhat general reorganization of the departments may yet be undertaken. But at present what concerns the newspapers is the appointment of heads for the departments as they stand. Whom will the President select? As a rule the President makes his appointments from among his personal or political friends. Thus a President pays his political debts, rewarding with Cabinet positions the men who have worked valiantly for his nomination and election, and adds to these such of his lifelong cronies as he happens to choose. "In choosing his Cabinet," says Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, in "Actual Government," "the President looks first of all for strong men who fairly represent his party" and "tries to represent the various geographical sections. He tries to recognize different wings of his party; thus, Lincoln appointed four old Democrats and three old Whigs to his Cabinet in 1861; he said that there was a perfect balance, because he was the fourth old Whig."

Once a Cabinet has been formed, the opposition press have something visible to attack. Then woe betide the blunderers. A hue and cry goes up. There are demands for resignations. There are demands for removal from office. But only the President can remove a department head. On the other hand, the President can remove a department head without so much as consulting the Senate.

LINCOLN

THE GREATEST MAN OF
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



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52 ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Lincoln stories are printed every year during the month of February in the newspapers and in the magazines of the country. I have read nearly all of the "Lives of Lincoln" which have appeared in book form and I have never seen this story published.

It was my good fortune once to make a long sea voyage on the same vessel with Mr. Frederick W. Seward. He was the son of William H. Seward, our Secretary of State during the Civil War. He was acting Secretary of State during his father's illness. One day in the Captain's room Mr. Frederick Seward related to a small group of us who had become acquainted with him a number of interesting stories about the closing months of Lincoln's administration.

There was a certain measure in which the President believed strongly. He brought it one afternoon into a Cabinet meeting. He found that his Secretaries,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN 53

to the last man, were all strongly opposed to it. He spent considerable time explaining it and seeking to bring them to his way of thinking, but apparently without much effect. The time came, however, when a vote must be taken as other business had to be transacted. Lincoln put the motion: "All those in favor of this measure will say, Aye." The Secretaries sat there as silent and as well-behaved as a company of nuns at Vespers. "All those who are opposed will say, No." Every man instantly voted a stout, loud, "No." There came a look of disappointment in the President's face and then a twinkle in his eye. After a significant pause he remarked, "The Ayes seem to have it. The motion is carried."

The very audacity of the man! The undaunted strength of his own conviction awed them rather than offended them. They looked at him, leaned back in their chairs and laughed and allowed the mo-

He was offered place in Cabinet

Indiana History Bulletin
Ex. No. Dec. 1925
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GENERAL WILLIAM HARROW

MRS. FREDERICK PIERCE LEONARD
Mount Vernon, June 15, 1923.

William Harrow, the son of Lucy Gray and Thomas Harrow, was born in Winchester, Kentucky, November 14, 1822. Later the Harrow family moved to Lawrenceville, Illinois. At an early age he showed a legal tendency and was given a good college and legal education.

He was married to Juliette Randolph James, daughter of Enoch Randolph and Esther Simpson Lowry James, on June 18, 1857, at the home of E. R. James in Mount Vernon, which is now the E. M. Spencer place on Main Street; the old home, however, was torn down several years ago. The day is remembered not only because of a brilliant social event, but because of light snow which fell.

In politics, William Harrow was regarded a "Black Republican." As an Indianapolis paper put it; "He was a Whig, then a Republican, serving the party with the ardor that distinguished him in all the pursuits of life."

In 1858, he was one of a party of Lincoln's adherents who accompanied him to Freeport, Illinois, in the celebrated debate with Douglas. Lincoln sought advice of William Harrow, and at this period his views had great weight with Lincoln. Their friendship had grown very close, during the time they rode the Eighth Judicial Circuit together. Lincoln recognized Harrow's legal ability. Harrow gave him this advice; "Lincoln, now is the moment to make the break and kill Stephen A. Douglas forever." This is authentic as my father told it to my mother and often discussed it in my presence. He stumped the state for Lincoln in his campaign for Presidency.

Lincoln, as a manifestation of sincere appreciation, said to Harrow, "I would like for you to accept a place in my Cabinet." Harrow, however, declined the honor, saying; "It can never be, as I am not financially situated so that I can accept such favors." He was not a man who cared for public office, neither was he egotistical or self-centered. He preferred gathering in the laurels for his friends.

LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION AND 1ST CABINET

Seward's Insincerity, and How Lincoln "Laid Down the Law"
To Him—Hamlin's Views As to the Formation of the Cabinet—The Vice President Consulting Member of the Cabinet.
Tells How Andy Johnson Took Too Much Booze Before He Was Sworn In.

Was not J. Fogg 9-14-26

By HARRISON HUME, 13th Mass.

(Editor's Note: This sketch is from a paper read before the 50th anniversary of the Thirteenth Massachusetts Association, with an extract from the pen of the grandson of Hannibal Hamlin, Charles Eugene Hamlin.)

Sixty-five years ago next March Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated as President of the United States the first time.

Some facts in relation to the appointment of Mr. Seward as Secretary of State, and others of the Cabinet, having come to my knowledge under the seal of confidence, I am now at liberty to relate.

In the Winter of 1870, when about to take the train at Concord, N. H., for Boston, I was introduced by my friend, Gen. Robert N. Corning, Postmaster of Concord, to the Hon. George G. Fogg, who had been editor of the "Independent Democrat," a powerful antislavery political leader of New Hampshire and later Minister to Switzerland and United States Senator. I rode with him and, as the train was delayed by snow, had a very interesting interview of some three hours.

He told me many interesting things about the nomination of Mr. Lincoln at Chicago, and of his own work with David Davis and Leonard Sweat and others of Mr. Lincoln's closest friends and leaders, which I shall not now attempt to relate. But most interesting was his account of the formation of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet.

It is now well known that upon Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Washington, a great fight was made against the appointment of Mr. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury by the Seward wing of the Republican Party. Mr. Seward and his friends were determined that Mr. Chase should not enter the Cabinet. Mr. Seward went so far as to withdraw his acceptance of the position of Secretary of State.

Lincoln and Seward.

Before Mr. Lincoln went to the Capitol to be inaugurated he wrote Mr. Seward a very kind note earnestly requesting him not to withdraw. As he wrote the note he remarked to his Secretary: "I can not allow Seward to take the first trick."

Still, Seward persisted until he was informed by Mr. Lincoln (and Mr. Fogg said it was done personally) that the only change he should make in his Cabinet if Mr. Seward withdrew was to substitute the name of William L. Dayton for Secretary of State.

Then Mr. Seward, knowing that he could not keep Mr. Chase out, accepted, as he doubtless always intended to do.

Mr. Fogg said to me that Mr. Lincoln never intended to have Mr. Seward in his Cabinet. He tendered him the position with the expectation that he would decline it. That the tender was not to be made until it was well known that he would decline it. In this, however, Mr. Fogg was misinformed, or his hatred of Seward colored his statement. This was not Abraham Lincoln's way of doing things, as the following letter from Han-



HANNIBAL HAMLIN

nibal Hamlin, then Vice President-elect of the United States, dated Bangor, Feb. 8, 1863, will show:

"Mr. Fogg was not quite right in his statement that the position of Secretary of State was tendered to Mr. Seward with the expectation that he would decline it. The truth is, Mr. Seward had come to believe that he would not be offered the position as Secretary of State and to let himself down he was proclaiming publicly that he would not take the place if offered to him, and he did not know it would be offered to him until I gave him the letter from Mr. Lincoln tendering it. This talk about promises to Mr. Weed is all incorrect. Mr. Lincoln may have said that he thought well of offering the position to Mr. Seward, but he never promised to do so to any one. In the note of Mr. Lincoln to me, inclosing the note to Mr. Seward, tendering him the place, I was authorized and directed not to deliver the note to Mr. Seward unless after consulting with Judge Trumbull we should approve of it. The judge and I agreed in opinion that it was the right thing to do, and the note was consequently delivered. And while Mr. Seward was proclaiming he would not take the position Judge Trumbull and I never doubted for a moment that he would accept as he did."

My receipt of this letter, which I considered with others confidential until delivered to his biographers, came about in this way. In the Winter of 1883 there was an article published in a Boston paper on the formation of Mr. Lincoln's

Cabinet. I sent Mr. Hamlin a marked copy, and wrote him at length the story as told me by Mr. Fogg.

Seward's Insincerity.

Mr. Fogg's opposition to Mr. Seward was very effective. His power in New Hampshire politics was great and it was thru his efforts that Mr. Lincoln spoke in New Hampshire when on his famous trip to New York and the East that made him President. It was thru Mr. Fogg's efforts that New Hampshire gave Mr. Lincoln nine votes out of 10 on the first ballot at the Chicago Convention.

I asked him why he was so opposed to Mr. Seward's nomination. I told him that in our part of New England we were all Seward men and expected New England would be solid for him.

"Some time prior to 1860," he said, "I dined with several other gentlemen at Mr. Seward's house in Washington, and heard him ridicule at his table some of the antislavery ideas that he advocated in public. I made up my mind that he was insincere and politically dishonest; that I would do what I could to prevent his nomination for the Presidency." In the Providence of God, he with others was successful.

There is other testimony in regard to Mr. Seward's political insincerity that a recent biographer, Mr. Hale, has felt called upon to notice.

Mrs. Davis's Memory.

Mrs. Jefferson Davis in the life of her husband, which she wrote some years ago, says that in 1859 Mr. Seward became intimate with her family, and while Mr. Davis was confined to a dark room for two months, suffering terribly with his eyes, Mr. Seward visited him every day.

"There was an earnest tender interest in his manner that was unmistakably genuine," she says. "He was a problematical character, full of contradictions but a very attractive study to us. Heartily liking him, I took a good many liberties of expression with him. Slavery was not an infrequent topic. One day I said to him, 'How can you make those piteous appeals for the negro in the Senate that you do. You were teaching in Georgia too long to believe the things you say.' He looked at me quizzically and smilingly answered, 'I do not. But they are potent to affect the rank and file at the North.' He frankly avowed that the truth should be held always subsidiary to an end."

He was true to his environment, for with New York politicians and statesmen it has always been, "He is a good enough Morgan until after election."

Mr. Lincoln invited Mr. Hamlin to become a consulting member of his Cabinet, and Mr. Hamlin accepted.

Mr. Hamlin attended numerous Cabinet and military conferences at the White House during the first period of the war, because he had been given to understand that he was expected to do so. But this lack of executive power, as well as his respect for the rights of others, caused him in the end to confer directly with President Lincoln, and separately with the members of the Cabinet.

Lincoln's Buffer.

Thus the nature of Mr. Hamlin's duties and the circumstances of his position compelled him to act chiefly in an individual capacity in relation to the war measures of the administration. But his well-known relations with President Lincoln, his desire to serve the Government, his standing as a public man, and his own knowledge of military affairs, naturally drew many men to him, and the details of numerous conferences of

this kind would be interesting reading if Mr. Hamlin had recorded them.

His acts, however, are known, though no one ever learned how much criticism on President Lincoln he answered, or how many ill-advised plans he quietly sidetracked. He had letters of this nature from men whose names might astonish the public, and which it would be unjust to reproduce, since the authors mostly came to see their own mistakes.

Thus it became known that while Mr. Hamlin often had to hear complaints against the administration, he was President Lincoln's friend and trusted counselor. The personal enemies of the baser sort whom great men attract see them thru their own eyes, and form their opinions on suspicion and dislike, not on fact.

But it is sufficient to say now that in acts that President Lincoln repeatedly manifested his confidence and friendship in acts that conclusively show how he felt towards his associate; while Mr. Hamlin rendered President Lincoln a service that might be regarded as the most patriotic, certainly the most unselfish, act of his life.

Mr. Hamlin became more interested in the Army than the Navy, partially thru an unpleasant incident which compelled him to sever his connections with Secretary Welles. While it must be left to others to weigh the various estimates of Mr. Welles, it must be frankly recorded that Mr. Hamlin regretted his responsibility for Welles's appointment to the Cabinet as one of the mistakes of his life, and not entirely on personal grounds.

Yet he consoled himself in the reflection that the administration had in Gustavus V. Fox, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a man who, in his judgment, should rank next to Stanton as the most useful and efficient officer of the administration.

But Mr. Hamlin's differences with Secretary Welles grew out of a personal affair. It has been shown how Mr. Welles owed his appointment to the Cabinet to Mr. Hamlin. Some effort was once made to discredit this, and the animus of Mr. Welles's feeble reflections on Mr. Hamlin's attitude towards the administration is clear.

But if there were any grounds for doubt, the words of President Lincoln removed them. When he came to Washington to be inaugurated, he once more talked with Mr. Hamlin about Mr. Welles. Gen. Charles Hamlin, the Vice President's son, was present. Mr. Lincoln asked: "Do you still regard Welles as a better man than B. H. B.?" His manner for raising the question was half apologetic, and yet he seemed to be in doubt. When Mr. Hamlin replied that he preferred Welles, Mr. Lincoln said:

"Oh, very well, I told you that you should name the New England man, and if you say Welles, it is Welles."

Sitting one Winter afternoon in front of the open fire in the old office of the Secretary of State at Augusta, Mr. Hamlin told me the story of the inauguration of his successor, Andrew Johnson, as Vice President of the United States. There was no show of bitterness in his manner, only regret.

He said that some time before noon of inauguration day, Mr. Johnson came to the Vice President's room looking



SECRETARY OF NAVY WELLES

somewhat demoralized and claimed to have been sick. If my memory serves me aright, I think Mr. Hamlin was not so charitable as to believe it. He asked Mr. Hamlin if he had any stimulant in his room.

Mr. Hamlin had some brandy and passed him the bottle with a common glass or tumbler. This Mr. Johnson filled and drank. Soon the hour for the inauguration came and Mr. Hamlin said: "Mr. Johnson, it is time for us to go to the Senate Chamber."

He started to lead the way. As he reached the door he became aware that Mr. Johnson was not following him, and turning he saw that he had returned to the closet where he poured out and drank another full glass of the brandy. After that, of course, he was as the college boys say, "well lit up."

They went to the Senate Chamber and Johnson took the oath and made that maudlin and disgraceful speech that the Senators listened to with bowed heads. The procession was formed and proceeded to the front of the Capitol, where Mr. Lincoln delivered that beautiful address admired by all the world.

When he closed, Vice President Johnson started for the front of the platform to address the people. He was seized and hurried into the Capitol. The procession returning, Mr. Sumner had Mr. Hamlin's arm and in his forcible way, said:

"Oh! Mr. Hamlin, this is terrible, this is disgraceful!"

"Yes," replied Mr. Hamlin, "and Massachusetts has only herself to thank for

SECRETARY SEWARD



it." (Massachusetts had defeated Mr. Hamlin's renomination at the Baltimore Convention.)

As I said before, everything relating to Mr. Lincoln is of interest. I doubt not the following letter will be. Mr. Hamlin's son and biographer told me that it was the only time his father wrote of Mr. Lincoln. Being about to deliver an address before the New England Club on Lincoln's birthday, I wrote Mr. Hamlin for some points and this was his reply to my request: Dated Bangor, Feb. 5, 1888:

Estimate of Lincoln.

"I am extremely busy today and I have not possibly the time to give you my views and opinions at length, but I can only say briefly of Mr. Lincoln:

"The life of Mr. Lincoln is a splendid illustration of the possibilities of our Government of all its citizens. Mark his early life and then dying in the highest position in the world.

"In his great debate with Douglas, he brought himself to National attention and exhibited great intellectual power and the first order of statesmanship that secured his nomination for the Presidency.

"He was President! with such men as Seward and Chase in the Cabinet--yet this was the supreme and controlling mind. He dominated the Cabinet, the Cabinet did not control him.

"The Emancipation Proclamation was his work. I saw it as he said when he showed it to me before any member of the Cabinet saw it.

"He was a man of great humor. With a terrible responsibility resting upon him he must have some relaxation or he could break down. His wit and humor were his relaxation. They worked like a safety valve to an engine.

"Without moral or physical fear his heart was as warm and gentle as a woman's. I have hastily stated points in Mr. Lincoln's life. But if I were to discuss them, I would put the Proclamation last as most important."

Hand types to be used

131. LINCOLN, ABRAHAM AND HIS CABINET. A Collection of autograph letters and documents of Lincoln and the members of his famous War Cabinet, and the two Vice-Presidents, Hamlin and Johnston. Comprising 16 A. L. S., L. S., and D. S., each item neatly attached to a sheet of hand-made paper and the entire collection handsomely bound, with portraits of Lincoln and the members of his Cabinet, in full crimson French levant, beautifully gold tooled and inlaid with attractive emblematic designs in color, consisting of the shield of the U. S., the spread eagle, and Lincoln's monogram initials, a most unusual doubleure of blue French levant in the center of which is a gold star with smaller stars and the monogram initials, "A. L." radiating therefrom, blue silk fly-leaves, folio size; with half levant French wrapper, enclosed in cloth slip-case; by Rivière. \$750.00

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obtain. The binding is an exquisite example of the bookbinder's art, a fine product of one of the foremost bookbinders of the world. Follows a brief description of the various autographs comprising this collection.

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Dr. Louis A. Warren

Editor

LINCOLN'S CABINETS

There seems to be much confusion as to who constituted the Cabinets during Lincoln's two administrations. This issue of Lincoln Lore presents brief biographical sketches of these men up to the time of their receiving their portfolios. An exhibit which shows the organization of the two groups is also presented. This is an introductory number to several Lincoln Lore bulletins which will deal with certain phases of the Cabinet's activities.

First Administration

Secretary of State

March 5, 1861, William H. Seward.

Secretary of the Treasury

March 7, 1861, Salmon P. Chase.

July 5, 1864, William P. Fessenden.

Secretary of War

March 11, 1861, Simon Cameron.

Jan. 15, 1862, Edwin M. Stanton.

Attorney General

March 5, 1861, Edward Bates.

Dec. 2, 1864, James Speed.

Postmaster General

March 5, 1861, Montgomery Blair.

Sept. 24, 1864, William Dennison.

Secretary of the Navy

March 5, 1861, Gideon Welles.

Secretary of the Interior

March 5, 1861, Caleb B. Smith.

Jan. 8, 1863, John P. Usher.

Second Administration

Secretary of State

*—Wm. H. Seward.

Secretary of the Treasury

March 7, 1865, Hugh McCulloch.

Secretary of War

*—Edwin M. Stanton.

Attorney General

*—James Speed.

Postmaster General

*—Wm. Dennison.

Secretary of the Navy

*—Gideon Welles.

Secretary of the Interior

*—John P. Usher.

*Held over from Lincoln's first administration.

Edward Bates

Born in Belmont, Goochland County, Virginia, Sept. 4, 1793.

Attended Charlott Hall Academy.

Migrated to Missouri in 1814.

Appointed Attorney General of the State in 1820.

Elected to legislature in 1822.

A representative to Congress in 1826.

Appointed to the Cabinet by President Lincoln March, 1861.

Died in St. Louis March 25, 1869.

Montgomery Blair

Born in Franklin County, Kentucky, May 10, 1813.

Graduated from West Point in 1835.

Appointed U. S. District Attorney

for Missouri and elected mayor of St. Louis in 1842.

Appointed Postmaster General by Lincoln in 1861.

Resignation as Cabinet member accepted September 23, 1864.

Died in Silver Springs, Maryland, July 27, 1883.

Simon Cameron

Born in Donegal, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1799.

Elected U. S. Senator in 1845, 1857.

Resigned seat in Senate March 4, 1861, to become Secretary of War in Lincoln's Cabinet, began duty March 11, 1861.

Resigned from Cabinet on Jan. 11, 1862.

Died in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1889.

Salmon P. Chase

Born in Cornish, New Hampshire, Jan. 13, 1808.

Graduated from Dartmouth college in 1826.

Elected to the United States Senate of 1849.

Became governor of Ohio as a Free Soil Democrat in 1835.

Re-elected as a Republican governor in 1857.

Again elected to the United States Senate in 1860.

Appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Lincoln in 1861.

Resigned as Cabinet member July 1, 1864.

Died in New York City, May 7, 1873.

William Dennison

Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 23, 1815.

Graduated at Miami University in 1835.

Chosen to State Legislature in 1848.

Elected governor of Ohio in 1860.

Appointed Postmaster General by Lincoln in Sept., 1864.

Died in Columbus, Ohio, June 15, 1882.

William P. Fessenden

Born in Boscawen, N. H., Oct. 16, 1806.

Graduated from Bowdoin College in 1823.

Member of State Legislature, 1832-1840.

Elected to Congress, 1841.

Again elected to State Legislature, 1845-1846, 1853-1854.

Served as U. S. Senator, 1853-1864.

Appointed Secretary of the Treasury, July 1, 1864.

Resigned as Cabinet member March 3, 1865.

Died in Portland, Maine, September 8, 1869.

Hugh McCulloch

Born in Kennebunk, Maine, Dec. 7, 1808.

Entered Bowdoin College in 1824.

Settled in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1833.

President of the State Bank of Indiana, 1856-1863.

Appointed Comptroller of Currency at Washington.

Chosen by Lincoln to succeed Fessenden as Secretary of the Treasury.

Died at Washington, D. C., May 24, 1895.

William H. Seward

Born in Florida, New York, May 16, 1801.

Graduated from Union College in 1820.

Member of the New York State Senate, 1830-1834.

Elected as Whig governor of New York, 1837, 1842.

Sent to the United States Senate, served from 1849 to 1861.

Appointed Secretary of State, served during both Lincoln's terms.

Died in Auburn, N. Y., Oct. 16, 1872.

Caleb B. Smith

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, April 16, 1808.

Graduated from Miami University.

Moved to Indiana, practiced law and edited newspaper.

Member of the state House of Representatives, 1833, 1836.

Served as a member of Congress from 1843 to 1849.

President of the Republican National Convention in 1860.

Appointed Secretary of the Interior by Lincoln, March 5, 1861.

Resigned from Cabinet Jan. 1, 1863.

Died in Indianapolis Jan. 7, 1864.

James Speed

Born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, March 11, 1812.

Graduated from St. Joseph College, in 1828.

Studied law at Transylvania University.

Elected to Kentucky State Legislature in 1847.

Served in State senate, in 1861-1863.

Appointed U. S. Attorney-General by Lincoln in 1864.

Died in Jefferson County, Ky., June 25, 1887.

Edwin M. Stanton

Born in Stubenville, Ohio, December 19, 1814.

A student in Kenyon College.

Made Secretary of State in Buchanan's Cabinet Dec. 20, 1860.

Appointed by Lincoln as successor to Cameron, Secretary of War, Jan. 15, 1862 and was held over for Lincoln's administration.

Died in Washington, D. C., Dec. 24, 1869.

John P. Usher

Born in Brookfield, N. Y., Jan. 9, 1816.

Moved to Indiana and became Attorney-General of the state.

Appointed First Assistant Secretary of the Interior on March 20, 1862.

Succeeded Caleb B. Smith as Secretary of the Interior, Jan. 8, 1863, serving until after Lincoln's death.

Gideon Welles

Born in Glastonbury, Connecticut, July 1, 1802.

Studied in Norwich University.

Member of State Legislature from 1827 to 1835.

Appointed Secretary of the Navy by Lincoln in 1860.

Died in Hartford, Connecticut, Feb. 11, 1878.

Abraham Lincoln and His Cabinet

He Proved Himself a Con-
summate Master of Men by
His Wise Selection of
His Advisers

By Frances Bartlett

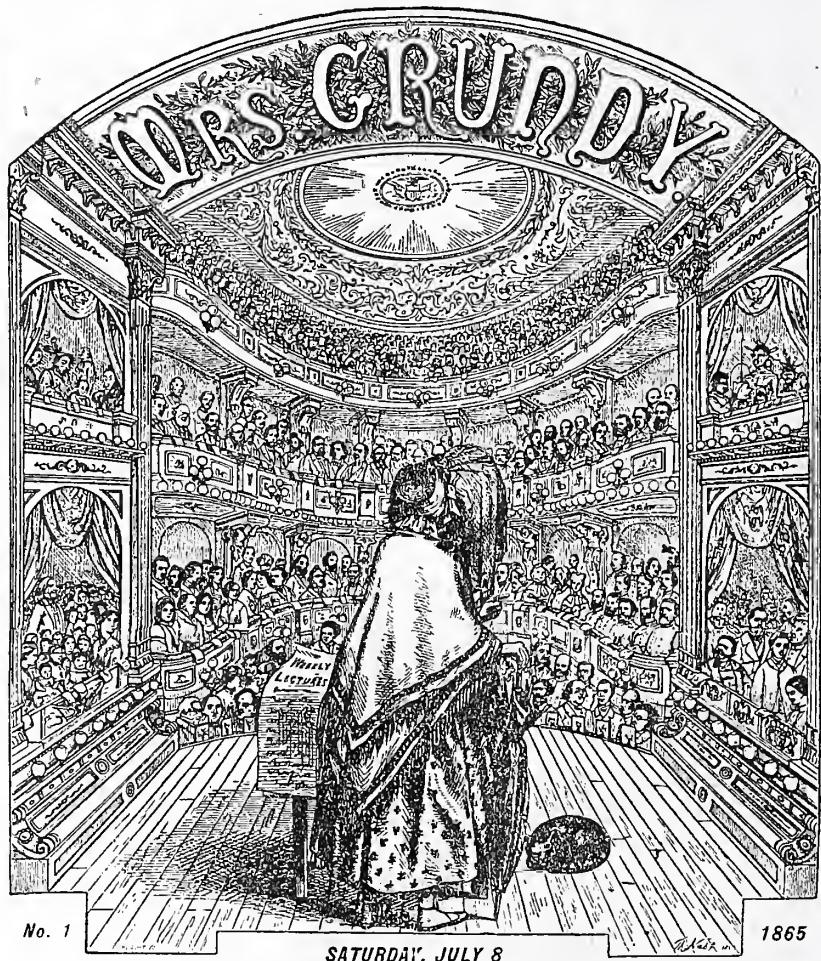
In his biography of Lincoln, Lord Charnwood wrote: "He died with every circumstance of tragedy, yet it is not the accident of his death but the purpose of his life that is remembered." And one of the most effective of the means by which he accomplished this immortal purpose was the use he made of his ministers of state "far more accomplished than himself." "Master of Men," Lincoln became in a peculiar sense master of his Cabinet. The study of the development of this ethical master is one of the most intensely interesting of all those of the multitudinous detail of his life-story, sifted and re-sifted by biographer after biographer. This curiously neglected (relatively) subject Dr. Macartney has examined with extreme care as well as enthusiasm. As a result, not only the too often forgotten vital services of these great ministers come into their own, but even more evident becomes the magnanimity of the man who was their master: "one of the few supreme statesman of the last three hundred years, misunderstood and undervalued in his lifetime," but whose place "is among the great men of the earth."

On the night of his election to the presidency, Lincoln made a list of the men he hoped to have in his Cabinet. A few weeks before that, a certain politician on his way to Lincoln's room in the State House at Springfield, met Salmon P. Chase just coming from there. Knowing Chase's own presidential ambitions, Senator Weik said to Lincoln: "You don't mean to put that man in your Cabinet, I hope." "Why do you ask that?" said Lincoln. "Because," said Weik, "he thinks that he is a great deal bigger than you are." Lincoln replied, "Well, do you know of any other men who think they are bigger than I am?" Weik answered, "I cannot say that I do—but why do you ask?" "Because I want to put them all in my Cabinet." Within the memory of all Dr. Macartney's readers, a President of the United States was careful to fill his Cabinet with men whose intellect was inferior to his. Lincoln, however, always respecting ability and reputation, and knowing that before him and his Cabinet lay a task greater than that imposed upon even Washington and his Cabinet, chose the biggest men in the country. Three of the seven were giants. All had prejudices often at variance with Lincoln's limitless tolerance and "charity toward all," and fought in season and out of season to maintain those prejudices. But one by one the defenses of opposition fell before the patient, steady urge of Lincoln's mercifully constructive policies and his absolute sincerity.

Various of Dr. Macartney's studies recall men relatively little known to most

of us today; Simon Cameron, Lincoln's first Secretary of War, among these. The reasons why this "Pennsylvania Boss," the inventor of a political machine still functioning smoothly in Pennsylvania, whose chief contribution to history is the aphorism still current in political circles—"An honest politician is one who, when he is bought, stays bought"—was in the Cabinet, are not those in which Republican leaders of this book can have an "honest pride!" Another member little remembered today was Caleb Blood Smith, "the stump speaker of Indiana," Lincoln's first Secretary of the Interior, and the only

day know more. At least those of us who have read his illuminating "Diary." But Dr. Macartney strengthens appreciably the outlines of his portrait: one of a long list of Secretaries of the Navy from New England, beginning with John Hancock, president-chairman of the Marine Committee, 1776-1777, and concluding with Charles Francis Adams. It was this "old Mormon deacon" who for four years kept unbroken the line of the ships blockading the Confederacy from Norfolk to the Rio Grande. Dr. Macartney comments "The North's blockade of the South is a major illustration of the influence of sea-power on history. And back of these hundreds of



A Panorama of Civil War Days

From a Drawing by Thomas Nast

political "bargain" in his Cabinet, and that not made by the president. Still another of these less known ministers was Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney General. He was the oldest member of the Cabinet; so old, indeed, that he had served in the War of 1812. A "solid, dull man," who not wholly in sympathy with Lincoln's conciliatory policies, nevertheless grew to think him possessed of only one real fault: "a deficiency in the element of will," which carried tolerance beyond any point Bates could reach. "Very near a perfect man." That was what Edward Bates thought of Abraham Lincoln.

About Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy—that "Connecticut Yankee who looked like a Mormon deacon," we of to-

ships one sees the be-whiskered face and the be-wigged head of the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles."

With the services of the three giants in those days in Lincoln's Cabinet—William Henry Seward, Secretary of State, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, and Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War—readers conversant with the history of the Civil War will be familiar at least in outline. But Dr. Macartney's studies present them in a light focussed upon one fact of their career—their association with Lincoln, who proved himself "master" of them all. It is probable that some readers who have followed Charnwood's and Nickolay and Hay's analyses will feel that Dr. Macartney in his sketch of Chase, emulates that charity

of Lincoln Edward Bates thought too broad. But Salmon P. Chase, to whose "piety" we owe the motto, "In God We Trust" on our national coinage, "was undoubtedly a great man." Lincoln said: "Of all the great men I have ever known, Chase is equal to about one and a half of the best of them."

Dr. Macartney presents Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, as "the organizer of victory." But perhaps today two historic comments which he made regarding Lincoln are remembered fully as often as are his great services. The first was made in Cincinnati in 1854, when the "backwoodsman" whom a decade later Stanton was to revere as well as respect, was associate counsel with the latter in the famous McCormick Reaper case. "I will not associate with such a damned gawky, long-armed ape as that," burst forth the already eminent Ohio lawyer with characteristic vehemence. "If I can't have a man associated with me who is a gentleman in appearance, I will abandon the case." And Lincoln, in an adjoining room, heard every word. Wounded to the depths of his sensitive heart, he felt an entirely natural prejudice against Stanton. And yet it was Lincoln's memory of the latter's brilliant speech at that trial, which when he became President, and a certain political obligation was discharged, was the chief influence which made him at once make Stanton Secretary of War. "If Lincoln did not forget Stanton's bad manners neither did he forget Stanton's great ability," is Dr. Macartney's comment, epitomizing in a sentence Lincoln's inexhaustible magnanimity and his selflessness where the saving of the Union was concerned. Stanton's other historic remark about Lincoln was made one April morning in 1865, when standing beside the bed where lay the at last emancipated Great Emancipator, this "iron man," struggling to keep his self-command, said brokenly: "Now he belongs to the ages."

The study of Lincoln's Secretary of State, William Henry Seward, of whom Carl Schurz wrote after his first meeting with him: "There is something mysterious in that slim, wiry figure, the thin, sallow face, the overhanging eye-brows and the muffled voice"—is a remarkable bit of historical analysis, national and individual. In it, while the indisputable paradoxes of Seward's character are never minimized, Dr. Macartney reveals clearly their submergence in the great prime minister's loyalty to the Republic and to Lincoln. "If we cannot always discern in the career of William H. Seward," says Dr. Macartney, "that consistency of philosophy and policy which he claimed, and that simplicity and artlessness of method which he avowed, nevertheless we can always see in the great Secretary of State a true lover of freedom and of his country, one who in the darkest hour of its history "never despaired of the Republic, and preferred to perish beneath its ruins than survive its fall."

And, by the way, the conspiracy of the South to disrupt the Union that it might undisturbed perpetuate Negro slavery was never more clearly proved than by Dr. Macartney (always conservative in his statements) in an introductory and well-captioned chapter, "A Nation Adrift." It deserves liberal quotation. For today, between forgetfulness and indifference and the sentimentality always haloing a "lost cause," the causes and issues of the Civil War are so often blurred and even misrepresented, that not only do students of history in general and American youth in particular receive an inexcusably wrong impression, but indirectly, every man, living and dead, who fought for the preservation of the threatened Union is stripped of the honor he deserves.

Masachusetts

1931

Men and Things

Difference in Manner of Lincoln's Original Cabinet Appointments and His Replacements Sheds Interesting Light on Emancipator's Temperament and Methods

WHAT has been called the unevenness of the Lincoln temperament has never been illustrated better than by the dissimilarity found in a comparison of the manner in which the original Lincoln Cabinet was chosen, when contrasted with President Lincoln's behavior in the replacement of the various members. Apparently this has passed unnoticed by writers, but the difference was most striking, and might be a subject for the psychologists to ponder.

The first selection was made after careful study, from the standpoint of a master practical politician, and with due regard for the public service.

Various elements entered into the selection of the first Cabinet, none of the least of which were the "shrieks of locality," as Lincoln aptly termed it himself, which he said would have to be considered if the Twelve Apostles were selected at that time. The political background had to be given much thought, for the new Republican party was a fusion of old political elements. When the list was completed it comprised three former Whigs and four former Democrats, and when someone filed objection to giving the Democrats a majority, Lincoln laconically remarked that he reckoned his interrogator had forgotten that he himself would sit in the Cabinet, Lincoln was a former Whig.

About 2 o'clock in the morning, after that fall election day in 1860, Abraham Lincoln was satisfied from the returns that he was elected. Before the sun set that same evening he had tentatively selected his Cabinet. This original selection was changed in but two instances, due to political expediency.

Three of the seven members in mind had been Abraham Lincoln's chief contenders for the nomination at Chicago: William H. Seward, of New York; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and Edward Bates, of Missouri. Seward and Bates had been Whigs; Chase, a Democrat. These three names were not changed. The other Whig selected was William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The other Democrats were Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, and Norman P. Judd, of Illinois.

But this lineup would not do. Still courting himself as one, the appointment of Judd would give Illinois two representatives, which was not to be thought of geographically. So Judd, one of his managers at Chicago, whom he would have liked to retain above all others, and who

Deals Made personal appointment Without on the slate, was reluctantly discarded.

Then Lincoln soon found out that his campaign managers had tied him up with commitments, in spite of the fact that it was done without his authority, and in the face of his instructions to make no binding contracts. So Dayton, who had been the Republican Vice Presidential nominee four years before, was dropped along with Judd.

In their places Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, were put, as the result of the deals of his Chicago managers, who wanted the votes of Pennsylvania and Indiana at the nominating convention. It was a bitter pill to swallow, but Lincoln felt in honor bound not to ignore the transaction.

As finally constituted the political complexion was unchanged: Smith had been a Whig and Cameron a Democrat. To the three contenders for the nomination had been added a fourth, Cameron. Sectionally, the appointments were equalizing: New England got one; the three prominent Middle States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio each got one; the Hoosier State got one, and the Border States two. As Lincoln said, the Cabinet was "nicely balanced and ballasted."

When the nominations went to the Senate, the two ablest members had drawn the highest prizes: Seward as Secretary of State, and Chase as Secretary of the Treasury. Cameron was Secretary of War; Welles Secretary of the Navy; and Blair Postmaster General. Bates had drawn the Attorney General portfolio, and Smith was Secretary of the Interior.

This original Cabinet remained intact for ten months when the first change occurred; Cameron got his walking papers. Why, has never been fully disclosed. Most of what has been said is surmise.

Cameron had told President Lincoln upon two embarrassing occasions that he could have his resignation whenever he wanted it.

One Sunday about the middle of January 1862, like a bolt from the blue, Cameron received a brief note from Lincoln informing him that he could now gratify his desire for a change of position "consistently with my view of the public interest," and that he proposed the following day to nominate him as Minister to Russia! Cameron was dumbfounded and Colonel McClure said he saw him moved to tears, but after talking over the matter with friends and intermediaries, he decided to make the best of an uncomfortable situation.

When the nomination of Edwin M. Stanton was sent to the Senate on Monday morning as successor to Cameron, Senator Fessenden said everybody there was astounded, and Welles said that "it was a surprise, not only to the country but to every member of the Cabinet" except Secretary Seward. Stanton had been accustomed to hurling the coarsest epithets at the President: "A low, cunning clown"; "a painful imbecile"; "the original gorilla"; and further queried why Du Chaillu was "such a fool to wander clear to Africa when he could have found what he wanted in Springfield."

The second man to go was Smith, the most mediocre member. John P. Usher was his successor.

The next to feel the ax was the Secretary of the Treasury. Chase was the administration's chronic "resigner," whose resignations were usually reconsidered and withdrawn. But the fifth and last time he went through the motions, in the summer of 1864, to his surprise and chagrin his resignation was accept-

ed. The temperamental Secretary in one of his fits of pique over a difference of opinion regarding an appointment, sent his usual resignation over to the White House. The President did not open and read the letter until the next morning. He immediately wrote Chase a brief note of acceptance, and simultaneously sent over to the Senate the nomination of Governor Tod, of Ohio, Chase's own State, and sent Tod a telegram telling of his nomination in place of Chase, "who has resigned." Tod declined and the President hit upon Senator Fessenden, of Maine, of the Senate Finance Committee, to take Chase's place. As he handed the nomination to one of his secretaries the latter told him that Fessenden was then outside and wanted to see the President with regard to the vacancy.

Fessenden started to recommend Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana, then Comptroller of the Currency, when the President greatly startled him by smilingly informing him that his own nomination had just gone over to the Senate! Fessenden leaped to his feet and said he would not accept. After a short talk he rushed over to the Senate to find that that august body in a two-minute executive session had confirmed it! The nominee wrote a letter of declination and took it personally to the President. He pleaded poor health and said he would be a dead man within a week. But Lincoln "coolly," as Fessenden said, told his caller that the country required the sacrifice. Lincoln finally won him over. As a concession the President had promised him that when the nation's finances were running more smoothly he would let him go. So when Fessenden had been re-elected to the Senate Lincoln accepted his resignation early in 1865.

The post was refused by Senator Morgan, of New York, and the President nominated Hugh McCulloch.

There were now two Stormy Petrel at Last Goes from the same State, McCulloch and Usher. Usher turned in his resignation. There was considerable jockeying to secure his post but Lincoln said that he had promised Bishop Simson, of the Methodist church, to appoint Senator James Harlan, of Iowa; that the Methodist church had been standing by the Administration "very generally."

Blair, the aggressive Postmaster General, was the stormy petrel of the Administration. President Lincoln retained him against strong adverse criticism. But Blair finally had to walk the plank. In 1864 Lincoln had been renominated on the regular ticket; General McClellan on the Democratic, and General Fremont on a third ticket by a convention composed of the radicals of the nation and disgruntled Republicans. There is a story credited by some and discarded by others, that President Lincoln agreed to drop Blair if Fremont would withdraw from the race. Be that as it may, the day after Fremont's withdrawal was published in the papers, Blair found in his mail a letter from the President gently "easing" him out!

Of those of the original Lincoln Cabinet who left before their Chief was assassinated, Bates, the Attorney General was the last to go, resigning in November, 1864. He was replaced by James Speed, brother of the most intimate friend that Abraham Lincoln ever had, Joshua Speed.

At the time Abraham Lincoln laid down his life, but two of the original members of his Cabinet were yet in office, Seward and Welles, and by a singular coincidence, while they were practically at swords' points during the entire period, they both served until the expiration of President Johnson's term.

JOHN W. STARR, JR.

Editor's Note: Mr. Starr, a resident of Millersburg, Pennsylvania, is one of the recognized authorities on Lincoln's life, and is a frequent contributor from his store of information. His collection of Lincolniana is considered to be one of possibly the first ten in its scope and importance of character. His relation and interpretations of events and scenes in Lincoln's career are always completely authenticated.

Lincoln's Difficulties With His "Cat-and-Dog"

Dr. Macartney Writes a Series of Studies of Seward, Chase and the Other Trouble-Makers

COLN AND HIS CABINET. By Charles Edward Macartney. 366 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

It is nothing new to say that Lincoln had a few perplexities and some problems to deal with; what is remarkable is that those who say it ignore or will lightly on one of his most

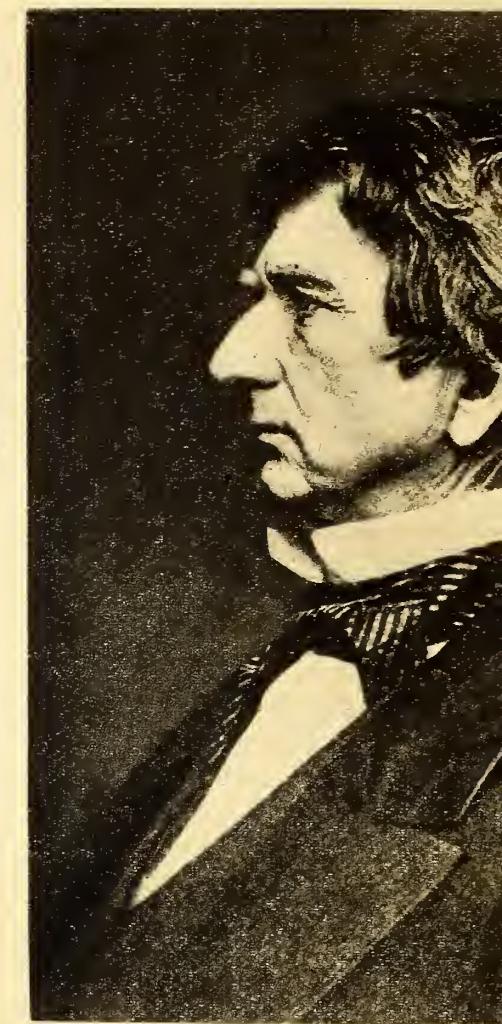
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In 1867, Dr. Macartney says, Chase "was hopeful that he might receive the Republican nomination;" but he does not add that in 1868, finding he couldn't, he was a candidate before the Democratic Convention. Chase represented the radical abolition sentiment in Lincoln's Cabinet, but his coquetry with the Democrats suggests that personal ambition was stronger with him than any principle.

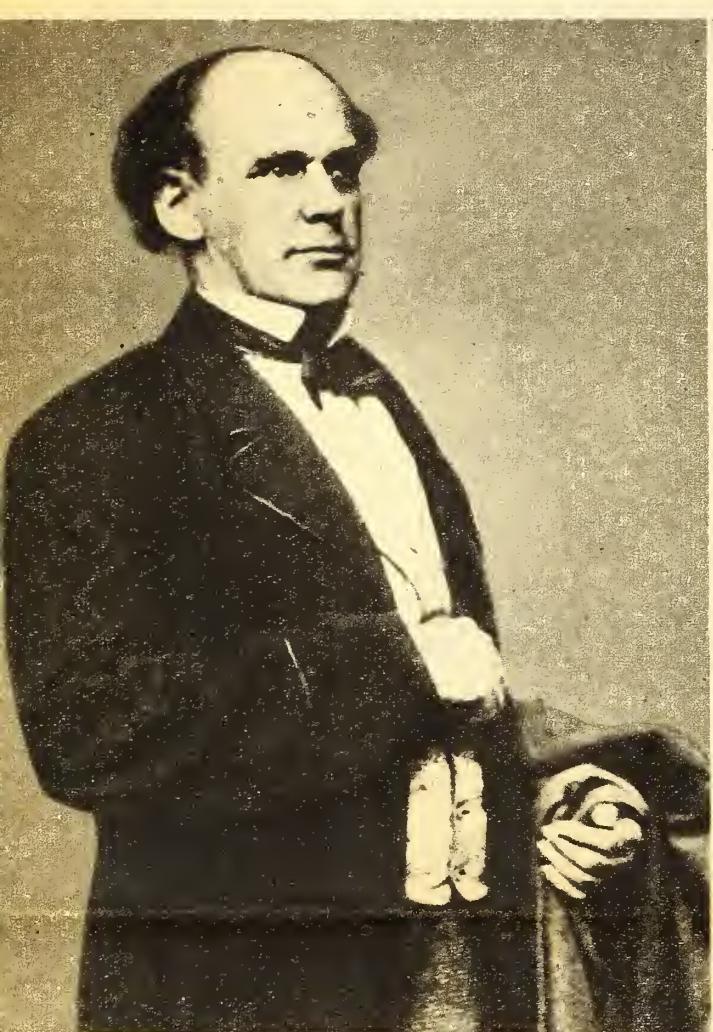
When Thurlow Weed heard that Lincoln intended to make Montgomery Blair Postmaster General, he warned the President that Blair would keep the Cabinet "constantly in hot water," and Dr. Macartney says this prediction was more than fulfilled. It is difficult to see how Blair, beyond dispute, was Lincoln's ablest and most loyal supporter; and whenever he got in a scrap with some other Cabinet member, it was always Blair who was right. However, he had to go, and this in spite of the fact that he and his father, by getting the delegates instructed in advance, had secured the renomination of Lincoln. The ambitious Chase could not endure that, and he had friends, consisting of the whole abolition wing. What was worse, Blair's brother, General Frank Blair, had exposed General Frémont's maladministration; and when Lincoln was nominated a bolting convention of abolitionists nominated Frémont for President. This seemed to indicate Lincoln's defeat and McClellan's election; so the President asked his faithful friend to resign. Blair did, Frémont withdrew, and the Chase element came out for Lincoln. Meanwhile, as soon as he left the Cabinet, Blair had taken the stump and devoted himself to promoting Lincoln's election.

Seward, as usual, gets the worst of it. Nobody in the Cabinet liked him, and those who wrote took great glee in imputing the worst motives to everything he did. Seward kept a diary, but he destroyed it for the rather fine reason that anybody who should read it in after years would get a poor im-



William Henry Seward.

pression of the kind of counsel Lincoln got. The others, too, kept diaries; diaries in which they saw to it that Seward should be written down as hard as possible, and the historians, one and all, have taken their word for gospel. It may be worth a thought that not only did Lincoln keep only two of the original Cabinet for the whole four years, but that his successor, Johnson, retained them, too; and they were Welles and Seward. There must have been something in those two, much as they disliked each other—or as Welles disliked Seward, for there is nothing to indicate that Seward disliked any man or ever



Salmon P. Chase.

acting difficulties, his cat-and-Cabinet. Not only did every one of them regard himself as Lincoln's superior, but Lincoln thought himself; and as each hated all others and ostentatiously proved the fact by dismissing continuously everything anybody said, this congress of superiors bade at the outset to make Kenny Fair of the administration.

Macartney, therefore, handles his subject, and he does it well, could have done it better by telling the whole scene—the puz-

them on matters "concerning the salvation of the country." "We have as little to do with it," added the disgruntled Chase, "as if we were heads of factories supplying shoes or clothing." Welles relished Lincoln's attitude, and, though Dr. Macartney does not record this, he details how Lincoln called the Cabinet in consultation to get its advice about what General might well command the Army of the Potomac. After each had nominated his favorite General, it leaked out that Lincoln had already appointed General Meade: "we were consulted



the abolitionist scholars, it is
annoying little details.

Lincoln is so idolized now that it is difficult to realize that in his lifetime he was regarded as a pusillanimous nobody, and all the party leaders were against him. Nothing but the political genius of the Blair family got him his renomination. It was quite customary among the Republican leaders to insult him publicly. Mrs. Lincoln showed to a friend more than eighty declinations to attend a White House reception, and Senator Ben Wade (mighty among the Republican leaders, so mighty that when Johnson was impeached he was picked out to be President in Johnson's place) worded his declination in this agreeable fashion:

Are the President and Mrs. Lincoln aware that there is a civil war? If they are not, Mr. and Mrs. Wade are, and for that reason decline to participate in feasting and dancing.

Naturally the Republican leaders did not intend to renominate him, and it is equally natural that their candidate should be the avid Chase.

Chase, however, was the only member of the Cabinet who was disloyal to Lincoln. The others stood by him, after he had shown that he was no Illinois jackanapes but a statesman of calibre. His trouble with them was not disloyalty, but their hatred of each other. Seward does not seem to have hated anybody, but that makes no difference, since they all hated Seward. Even the silent and self-contained Attorney General, Edward Bates, had no use for the others, especially Seward and Chase, and Gideon Welles hated everybody impartially and fluently. He was honest, though, and carp as he might his conscience made him write of Blair, when Blair was forced out by Chase and Frémont, "The President parts with a true friend, and he leaves no adviser so able, bold, sagacious."

There is nothing unprecedented about this jangling, wrangling, spitting Cabinet being one of Lincoln's most serious problems. Such a thing has happened often. There was no stronger, more rugged President than Jackson, and yet Jackson's first Administration was ruined by having just such a Cabinet. Not until Martin Van Buren forced them to resign did Old Hickory have a free hand and take his true place among Presidents. On the other hand, there have been Presidents, like Roosevelt, with equally discordant natures in the Cabinet whom, by some witchery, they reduced to the unanimity of a military squad. There is no rule to be laid down about it. Strength of character has nothing to do with it; Presidents who did not possess any such strength have yet, in some magical way, produced harmony among stronger and inharmonious spirits.

The weak spot in the book is the chapter on Stanton, who fascinates Dr. Macartney to such a point that he tells some of Stanton's most odious performances in the unconscious belief that he is telling something to the War Secretary's credit. The only reasonable explanation is that Dr. Macartney is a

The Wall of Rome

THE CITY WALL OF IMPERIAL ROME. An Account of its Architectural Development from Aurelian to Narses. By Ian A. Richmond. Illustrated. 279 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. \$15.

FOR four years Mr. Richmond has been pursuing his archaeological studies of the remains of the mighty wall which the Emperor Aurelian built around the imperial city, and in this book he gives the result of his minute investigations. His arrangement of the immense amount of material he has accumulated is to devote first attention to the present state of the wall, of which he says two-thirds of its original twelve-mile length is still standing, and its relation to the earlier boundaries and defenses, and then to examine and discuss the ancient literary sources of knowledge concerning it. Then he studies the architectural evolution of the wall and its gates, keeping this side of his thesis entirely separate from the literary sources. And finally these two sets of data are combined and compared in a historical interpretation.



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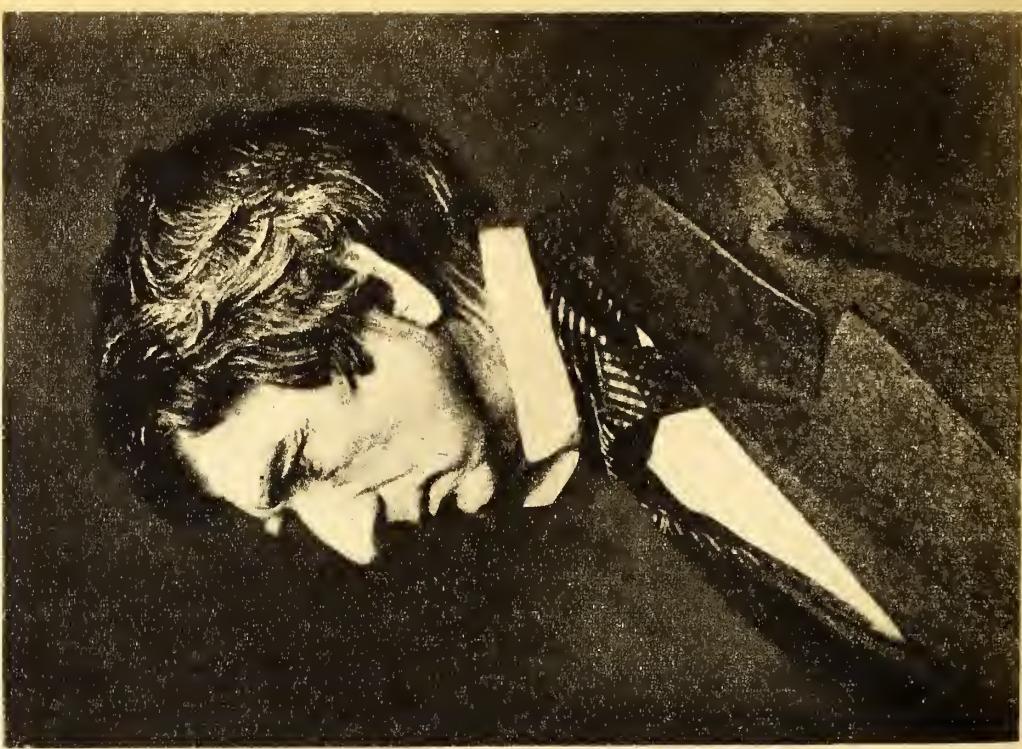
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Lincoln's Cabinet

(Continued from Page 3)

had whispered in their ears; and still more when Chase, getting further and further into a false position, offered his own resignation. The ingenious President had his critics where he wanted them; he simply rejected both resignations, and there was nothing for the abolitionist Senators to say.

Lincoln is so idolized now that it is difficult to realize that in his lifetime he was regarded as a pusillanimous nobody, and all the party leaders were against him. Nothing but the political genius of the Blair family got him his renomination. It was quite customary among the Republican leaders to insult him publicly. Mrs. Lincoln showed to a friend more than eighty declinations to attend a White House reception, and Senator Ben Wade (mighty among the Republican leaders, so mighty that when Johnson was impeached he was picked out to be President in Johnson's place) warded his declination in this agreeable fashion:

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ward, had no love for the front. It suggests the problem well enough even though it is only a series of biographical sketches, which will gather all the brambles together and show the Cabinet as one of Lincoln's major dilemmas; meanwhile, Dr. Macartney has done the best job in that line yet, even though he is inaccurate in many annoying little details.

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CHAR

Lincoln's Difficulties With His "Cat-and-Dog" Cabinet

Dr. Macartney Writes a Series of Studies of Seward, Chase and the Other Trouble-Makers

LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET. By Charles Edward Macartney. 368 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.50.

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

IT is nothing new to say that Lincoln had a few perplexities and some problems to deal with; what is remarkable is that those who say it ignore or swell lightly on one of his most

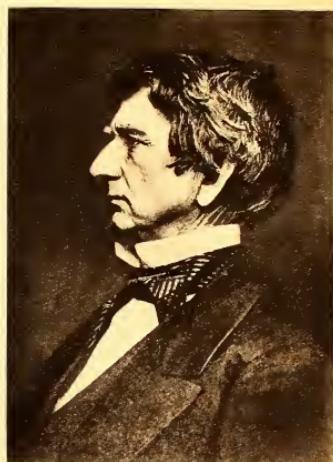
win M. Stanton, who did not become Secretary of War until Lincoln had discarded the demigod Simon Cameron at the beginning of 1862. Those who remained had remained longer. Blair, the Secretary of the Navy Welles recorded in his diary, all except Secretary of the Treasury Chase, who complained in a letter to the sympathetic General Butler that Lincoln never consulted

him will be re-elected. May his name go down to history with the two noblest additions historians have recorded: Restorer and Liberator.

In 1867, Dr. Macartney says, Chase "was hopeful that he might receive the Report of the Committee of Fifteen, but he did not add that in 1868, finding he couldn't, he was a candidate before the Democratic Convention. Chase represented the rank and abiding sentiment in Lincoln's Cabinet; his co-operation with the Democrats suggested that personal ambition was stronger with him than any principle."

When Thurlow Weed heard that Lincoln had chosen Montgomery Blair Postmaster General, he warned the President that Blair would keep the Cabinet "constantly in hot water," and Dr. Macartney says that prediction was not fulfilled. It is difficult to see why Blair, beyond dispute, was Lincoln's ablest and most loyal supporter; and whenever he got in a scrap with some other member of the Cabinet, it was always Blair who was right. However, he had to go, and this in spite of the fact that he and his father had gathered the delegates instructed in advance to heed the remonstrance of nearly all. The ambitious Chase could not endure that, and he had friends, consisting of the whole abolition wing. What was it? Blair's son, General Frank Blair, had exposed General Frémont's maladministration; and when Lincoln was nominated a holding company of abolitionists nominated Frémont as Vice-Presidential candidate to indicate Lincoln's defeat and McClellan's election; so the President asked his faithful friend to resign. Blair had, Frémont without him, and the Chase wing came out for Lincoln. Meanwhile, as soon as he left the Cabinet, Blair had taken the stump and defended himself to promoting Lincoln's election.

Seward, as usual, gets the worst of it. Nobody in the Cabinet liked him, and those who wrote took great glee in impugning his worth and character. In 1861, Seward kept a diary, but he destroyed it for the rather fine reason that anybody who should read it in after years would get a poor im-



Salmon P. Chase.

distracting difficulties, his cat-and-dog Cabinet. Not only did every one of them regard himself as Lincoln's superior, but Lincoln thought so, too; and as each hated all the others, he was compelled to proclaim the fact by dismissing contemptuously everything anybody else said, thus congress of supercilious heads at the outset to make a Kilkenny Cat of the administration.

Dr. Macartney, therefore, handles a new subject when he does it well. He could have done it better by handling the whole scene the pained greenhorn from Illinois, abjectly submitting to seven great men. He has chosen instead to make a separate sketch of each of these immortals, but it does not make much difference—the Donnybrook Fair emerges just the same. Of course, in what he has just said, there is no question that this circus lasted. Lincoln knew that he was greater than they were and took the bit in his own teeth, and so long as they were decently and properly there were only assistants; but he certainly came to Washington with no idea that he would have to preside over a war on the side of the moon, or of Federal offices, and each of the immortals knew better and was determined to run the coming conflict himself.

With one exception, Dr. Macartney does not begin with the immortals of 1861. The fact is that Lincoln got rid of all those who would not come down from Olympus and let him do the whip-cracking; but Dr. Macartney does not forget to mention Usher, Secretary of State, or any of the others who succeeded the valorous heroes who were going to run Lincoln's Administration for him in 1861. The only exception he makes is to devote a chapter to Edi-

them on masters "concerning the salvation of the country." "We have as little to do with it," added the disgruntled Chase, "as if we were heads of factories supplying arms to the rebels." This Chase proclaimed the fact by dismissing contemptuously everything anybody else said, thus congress of supercilious heads at the outset to make a Kilkenny Cat of the administration.

After reading Dr. Macartney's book one gets the impression that he means to get his audience to believe that Secretary Chase, and wonders how he endured him so long. He finally did get rid of Chase, after that great man had resigned six times, and Dr. Macartney's computation Dr. Macartney causes us to understand that the acceptance of this sixth resignation astounded Chase, who had expected that Lincoln could not stand up without him. The trouble with Chase was that not only was he always colluding with Lincoln's enemies on every subject, but he had no suspicion that Lincoln knew it all the time, and only kept up in the Cabinet because he was useful.

"Six days after he was out of office," says Dr. Macartney, "Chase was ready to support a Democratic Presidential candidate months later Lincoln appointed him Chief Justice of the United States and Chase promptly wrote to Sumner: 'It is now certain that Mr. Lin-

coln of the kind of counsel Lincoln had got. The others, too, kept diaries; diaries in which they saw themselves as they should be seen down as hard as rock, and the historians, one and all, have taken their word for gospel. It may be worth a thought that not only did Seward keep a diary of the original Cabinet, for the whole four years, but that his successor, Johnson, retained them, too; and they were Welles and Seward. There were, however, two Seward diaries, two much as they disliked each other—or as Welles disliked Seward, for there is nothing to indicate that Seward in after years would get a poor im-

pression of the kind of counsel Lincoln had a motive but to serve Lincoln and save the Union.

It is true that early in 1861 Seward thought he was going to run for the nomination and Lincoln thought and hoped so, too. He was the leader of the Republican party, concededly the ablest man in it, and he had run for the nomination in 1856. April Lincoln, who had begun that astonishing growth which made him great, informed him in courtiers that he was not fit for the master and Seward was not. It is not every party leader who would take such a piece of information as Seward did. From that moment he was the right-hand Lincoln's lieutenant and right-hand man; and when some of the old Seward faction began preparations to launch a boom for his nomination, he at once agreed with it with a letter "peremptorily requiring" them to stop thinking about anybody but Lincoln.

On the other hand, Dr. Cabell, representative of the James' element in the Republican party, and it had the upper hand in Congress, Chase made them believe, though they did not need his assistance, that Seward was able to run the government, that he must be got rid of and that a good sound abolitionist must take his place. Accordingly, Dr. Cabell, a local Republican Senator, resolved in caucus that the poor weakling who was nominally President be ordered to resign the Secretary of State, and a committee of Senators was appointed to haul him on with that demand.

Lincoln never displayed his astute ingenuity better. He had Seward ready to meet him the next day with the Cabinet (Dr. Macartney is not quite accurate here). When they met, Seward held up a document, Lincoln had been at the start to the Cabinet—their reasons for demanding a reorganization. Everybody in the Cabinet, beginning with the downright Dr. Cabell, was dumbfounded to hear Chase so diffidently from the way in which he



Montgomery Blair.

(Continued on Page 16)

Lincoln's Cabinet

(Continued from Page 3)

had whispered in their ears; and still more when Chase, getting further and further into a position, offered his own resignation. The impudent President had his critics where he wanted them; he simply rejected both resignations, and then he needed no further action from Senator to say.

Lincoln is so idolized now that it is difficult to realize that in his time he was regarded as a political nobody, and that many leaders were against him. Nothing but the political genius of the Blair family got him his renomination. It was quite customary among the Republicans to lead off by insult and publish it. Lincoln showed a friend more than eighty delegations to attend a White House reception, and Senator Bill Wade might have been one of the leaders, so mighty that when Johnson was impeached he was picked out to be President in Johnson's place) waited his declination in this somewhat fashion:

Are the Presidents and Mrs. Lincoln aware that there is a civil war? That they are in it and are losing? Wade said, and for that reason decline to participate in feastings at the White House.

Naturally the Republican leaders did not intend to renominate him, and it is equally natural that their candidate should be the avowed Chase. Chase, however, was the only member of the Cabinet who was disloyal to Lincoln. The others stood by him after he had shown that he was not fit for judgment, but a statesman of courage. His trouble with them was not disloyalty, but their hatred of each other. Several doctored seem to have failed him, but there was no difference since they all hated Seward. Even the silent and self-contained Attorney General, Edward Bates, had no use for the others, especially Seward.

Chase, and Gideon Welles, hated everybody impartially and fluently. He was honest, though, and carp as much as any. He once made his wife write of Blair, when Blair was forced out by Chase and Fremont: "The President parts with a true friend, and he leaves no adviser saveable, but he has no adviser saveable."

There is nothing unprecedented about this jangling, wrangling Cabinet being one of Lincoln's most serious problems. Such is the nature of politics. There was no stronger, more resolute President than Jackson, and yet Jackson's first Administration was ruined by bad advice just as a Cabinet can be. Until McKinley was forced to resign to Old Hickory have a free hand and take his true place among Presidents. On the other hand, there have been Presidents like Jackson, who are equally doggedly natural in the Cabinet whom, by some witchery, they reduced to the unlikelihood of a million things. That is what it is to be laid down about it. Strength of character has nothing to do with it: Presidents who do not possess any such strength have yet, in some measure, been productive, though among stronger and inharmonious spirits.

The weak spot in the book is the chapter on Stanton, who fascinates Dr. Macartney to such a point that he tells some of Stanton's most odious performances in the unconvincing belief that he is telling something to the "Society" reader. The only reasonable explanation is that Dr. Macartney is a Presbyterian who writes history on the side, and that he is hypercritical by the Urban Heretic. Most of Stanton so much that he cannot see the Bill Sikes side. Lincoln did not care what happened about Stanton; he kept him in the War Department because Stanton had the precisely the qualities such a Minister needed and which Lincoln knew very well.

It is hardly an objection to the book that it does not take a comprehensive survey of the Cabinet as a problem Lincoln had to con-

front. It suggests the problem well enough, and it is a good series of biographical sketches. Some day will gather all the brambles together and show the Cabinet as one of the major dilemmas; meanwhile, Dr. Macartney has done the best job in that line yet, even though he is inaccurate in many annoying little details.

The Wall of Rome

THE CITY WALL OF IMPERIAL ROME, An Account of its Architectural Development from Augustus to Constantine, by Jan P. Richmond, Illustrations, pp. 250, \$3.50, New York: Oxford University Press.

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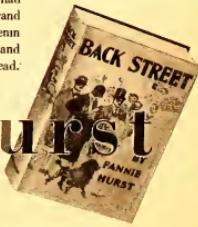
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THE RELATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF LINCOLN'S
CABINET TO ONE ANOTHER
AS REVEALED BY THE DIARIES OF THE PERIOD

Betty Meyer
Amer.Hist. Tutorial
Semester 1, 1933-34

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THE RELATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF LINCOLN'S
CABINET TO ONE ANOTHER
AS REVEALED BY THE DIARIES OF THE PERIOD

During Lincoln's term of office only two of the original cabinet members remained with him without change, these two being William H. Seward as Secretary of State, and Gideon Welles as Secretary of the Navy. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio held the Treasury position until '64, when William P. Fessenden of Maine was appointed to succeed him. The Treasury again changed hands in 1865 when Hugh McCulloch came into the Cabinet. The War Department was in the hands of Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania for a short time, and in '62 Edwin Stanton of Ohio was appointed in his place. The Attorney-Generalship was held by three different people during Lincoln's period of office. Edward Bates of Missouri was the first to hold office, and he was followed by Titian J. Coffey of Pennsylvania in '63 and James Speed of Kentucky in '65. The two Post-Master Generals were Montgomery Blair of Maryland from 1861 to 1864, and William Dennison of Ohio from '64 on. Caleb Smith (Ind.) was Secretary of the Interior from 1861 to 1863, and John P. Usher, also of Indiana, succeeded him.

The Diary of Gideon Welles is full of characterizations of the Cabinet. His picture of Seward is the most open to criticism, for he does the Secretary of state scant justice, if not actual injustice.¹ He criticizes Seward for his pretentious bearing, his assumption of the role of premier in the Cabinet, his airs of mystery and

SEWARD

1. Welles, Gideon. Diary.
I;xxxiv.

affectation of special information in affairs of the
2. departments. 3. Welles calls Seward "a trickster more than
a statesman," "a man of not very compact thought, and
4. one often loose in his expressions." "Finding himself
in difficulty, he (Seward) tries to shift his errors
on to the Navy Department. He assumes to talk wise
without knowledge and to exercise authority without
5. power." His "inconsiderate and imprudent promises" were
always involving him and the administration in diffi-
6. culties. "Mr. Seward, with all his shrewdness and talent,
7. is sometimes the victim of his own vanity and conceit ...
He overruled his own powers always, and underestimated
those of others." When he was sworn into office, he
expected and intended to occupy the place of premier,
and undoubtedly supposed he could direct the adminis-
8. tration in every Department. Mr. Lincoln, he knew;
and little administrative experience. Mr. Seward,
therefore kindly and as a matter of course, advised
that he was to be the master mind of the government.
9. Mr. Lincoln was impressed with the belief that his
secretary of state had shrewdness, knowledge, political
experience, and capability far greater than he actually
possessed, according to Welles, but in spite of that
Lincoln let him know that the President was still chief.

Seward frequently involved the government in difficulties by his inadroitly surrendering national
rights. He was easily fooled by flattery, and the

2. Ibid. I;xxxiv.
3. Ibid. II;110
4. Ibid. II;150
5. Ibid. I;416
6. Ibid. I;451
7. Ibid. I;56
8. Ibid. I;97
9. Ibid. I;37

foreign ambassadors, knowing it, often got the better of him by that means. "Mr. Seward sometimes uses stirring things, ... which make us constantly apprehensive of his acts. Constitutional limitations are to him unnecessary restraints."^{10.}

Mr. Welles was surprised to find Seward so un-practical, so erratic, so little acquainted with books. Seward told him that he never opened them, ~~lest~~ ^{11.} he was too old to study. He had to rely on others to give him information.^{12.} This may be the reason that Welles says of him, "He shuns controversies and all subjects where he is liable to become personally involved."^{13.} Seward possessed a hopeful and buoyant spirit which did not fail him in dark hours. At no time were his party feelings more decided than during the spring of 1861.^{14.}

Seward had a peculiar habit of being "vigorously attentive to every measure and movement in other departments, ... but was not communicative in regard to the transactions of the State Department."^{15.} He seemed to have more leisure than most of the Cabinet officers, except perhaps Smith of the Interior, for he would run to the President two and three times a day, getting his ear, giving him his tongue, making himself interesting by anecdotes, and artfully contriving with Stanton's aid to dispose of measures without action on the part of any of his associates.^{16.} He would rather have interviews with Lincoln alone than with the entire Cabinet, especially for the consideration of points on which he knows himself

10. Ibid. I;38.

11. Ibid. II;36.

12. Ibid. I;275.

13. Ibid. I;110.

14. Ibid. I;11.

15. Ibid. I;7.

16. Ibid. I;132.

17.

wrong. He was very often absent from Cabinet meetings, and began the practise of sending substitutes to meetings

18.

in his absence. One of Welles entries concerning a Cabinet meeting is this. "Little done at Cabinet. Seward undertook to talk wise in relation to Commander Collins and the Mont Blanc, but really betrayed inexcusable ignorance of the subject of prize and prize courts, and admiralty law, the responsibilities of an officer, etc."^{19.}

His tendency to interfere in the business of the other Departments, coupled with his rash judgment and his assumption of too much power often caused quite serious difficulties. In one case, the English complained that their ships had been delayed in the delivering mail, by being detained and searched. Mr. Seward, without consulting anyone, said he would remedy the grievance. In doing this he yielded more than the English had asked, and he overstepped his authority and went beyond the law, besides interfering in the affairs of the Navy Department. He knew nothing of the situation and the laws and principles dealing with such cases, and he did not investigate. The President was not even informed. When Mr. Welles refused to carry out the directions, Mr. Seward suggested modifying the instructions to conform with the law -- anything to save his face. He would not however humiliate himself to the extent of retracing his steps.^{20.}

Again Seward sent Mr. Welles instructions for the naval officers, directed in the name of the President, who it was discovered knew nothing about them. About this

17. Ibid. I;285

18. Ibid. I;320

19. Ibid. I;594

20. Ibid. I;80

time Mr. Welles wrote of Mr. Seward, "Mr. Seward has a passion to be thought a master spirit in the administration, and to parade before others an exhibition of authority which if permitted is not always exercised wisely or intelligently."²¹ Again on the same line of thought he wrote, "It was a misfortune of Mr. Seward and one of his characteristics, that he delighted in obscure and indirect movements; he also prided himself in his skill and management, had a craving desire that the world should consider him the great and controlling mind of his party, of the administration, and of the country. He was intensely anxious to control the war and navy movements, although he had neither the knowledge nor aptitude that was essential for either."²² Another time Seward "did not mean to commit himself on these questions and disputes (concerning admiralty law) until it was unavoidable. It does not displease him to have Chase and Blair at issue, but a remark of mine that we had better see wherein we agreed than where we disagreed pleased him, and in a friendly way he complimented me as occupying a position more independent, philosophic, and patriotic than others."²³ In the Fort Sumter affair Seward meddled in the affairs of the Navy, causing great hesitation and delay. He later admitted to Welles that he had learned a lesson from this business and that he had better attend to his own affairs and confine his labors to his own Department. And, Welles wrote, "To this I cordially assented."²⁴ In this case he had been acting in concert with Confederate representatives in opposing sending supplies to Sumter. He had

21. *Ibid.* I;79

22. *Ibid.* I;39

23. *Ibid.* I;467

24. *Ibid.* I;24

promised two commissioners that nothing in the way of
supplies or reinforcements would be sent unless those in
authority in the south were notified.
^{25.}

The French government applied for permission to
export some tobacco which had been purchased by them
from Richmond. A dispatch concerning the affair was sent
by Admiral Lee. "It is curious that the President, who
sent Admiral Lee's dispatch to me, should have consulted
the Secretary of War and Assistant Secretary of State
without advising me or consulting me on the subject. He
was annoyed, I saw, when I introduced the topic. The
reason for all this I well understood. He knew full well
my opposition to this whole proceeding, which I had
fought off two or three times, until he finally gave in
to Seward. Then therefore, some of the difficulties
which I had suggested began to arise, the President
preferred not to see me. It will not surprise me if this
^{26.}
if but the beginning of the trouble we shall experience."
Seward evidently had power over Lincoln and was able to
persuade him to endorse measures which affected other
^{27.}
Departments, but in the name of foreign relations.

Seward and Chase entered the Cabinet as rivals and
^{28.}
continued so in cold courtesy. Lincoln was fond of
Seward probably because he was more affable and easy to
get along with, and because Seward was comfort to him.
Lincoln respected Chase and deemed him necessary, although
^{29.}
he was clumsy, unpleasant, ~~and~~ stubborn, and tactless.

Stanton and Seward worked together at first, although

25. Ibid. I;26-28

26. Ibid. II;10

27. Ibid. I;80

28. Ibid. I;203

29. Ibid. I;205

later they disagreed. Stanton and Blair were at odds, and Seward although moving with Stanton, did not care to quarrel with Blair, and wanted to keep in with him and ^{30.} at the same time preserve intimacy with Stanton. Blair thought Seward was the least of a statesman and knew less of public law and of administrative duties than any man who ever held a seat in the Cabinet. Welles thought his statement quite strong, but in his opinion not so far ^{31.} wrong as might be supposed.

The Secretary of State also interfered with the affairs of the Attorney-General, and was constantly sinking in Bates' estimation. Bates thought Seward "had much cunning but little wisdom, and was no lawyer and no ^{32.} statesman." Mr. Cameron while Secretary of War was also highly indignant because Seward tried to run his Department. ^{33.}

Seward was opposed by the Republican caucus, and he tendered his resignation when he heard about the movement against him. A committee of the caucus talked with the President, stating their case against Seward and saying that the caucus was not opposed to any other member of the Cabinet. Welles thought that Chase, Stanton, and Caleb Smith had participated in the movement, for he knew them to have expressed their discontent with the Secretary of State to Senatorial intimates. Montgomery Blair also thought Stanton instrumental in getting up the movement ^{34.} ^{35.} as a screen for himself. Both Smith and Chase were dissatisfied with Seward and did not hesitate to make known

30. Ibid. II;91

31. Ibid. I;275

32. Ibid. II;93

33. Ibid. I;25

34. Ibid. I;203

35. Ibid. I;203

their feelings in some quarters, although, Welles thinks, not to the President but to their senatorial friends who later started the anti-Seward movement.^{36.} Welles, in commentating on the resignation of Mr. Seward, said, "It was unwise of the President to let a group of Senators dictate whom his Cabinet should include. Even if Seward was wrong in many cases, and even if the others did not agree with him, it would be better for the whole country if the President kept his power in appointing the Cabinet, and the scheme be defeated."^{37.} Lincoln refused to accept the resignation as he did later in the case of Chase, and Seward remained in the Cabinet.

This is Welles' picture of Secretary Seward, the man who wanted to make law instead of executing national law, the man whose administrative management in his own Department was loose and inconsiderate.^{38.}

On observer outside the Cabinet, Thomas Ewing of Ohio, was "very much dissatisfied with Mr. Seward's diplomacy, and said he had insulted every foreign power since he came into office. ... Seward was not a gentleman, but a low, vulgar, vain demagogue."^{39.}

CHASE Welles was not much fonder of Chase than he was of Seward. Chase "has no system on which he relies, but is seeking expedients which tumble down more rapidly than he can construct them."^{40.} He is "pursuing a financial policy which I fear will prove disastrous,

36. Ibid. I;203

37. Ibid. I;199-200

38. Ibid. I;181

39. Browning, O.H. "Diary." Illinois Historical Collections. v.20, pg.527

40. Welles. Op.cit. II;13

perhaps ruinous. His theories in regard to gold and currency appear to me puerile." Chase thought Welles was embarrassing the Treasury when he let it be known that he (Welles) was a hard-money man and could indorse no standards but gold and silver as the measure of value. Chase used the scheme of legal paper tender and Welles distrusted the system.

Welles says of Chase that he dislikes to be put in the wrong. "In this respect he differs greatly from Seward, who will receive correction very easily, provided others do not know it." "His jokes are always clumsy; he is destitute of wit." "He wants the courage and candor to admit his errors." Bates thinks him not well-versed in law principles even, and not sound nor of good judgment. Seward expressed himself unreservedly and warmly against Chase the day of Lincoln's second inauguration.

Chase said that "the administration is merely departmental," which Welles thought perfectly true, and that "he considers himself responsible for no other branch of the government than the Treasury, nor for any other than financial measures." He chafed at being left in the dark on proceedings, and tried and succeeded in getting to the President to obtain information of what was going forward. This action on the part of Chase only excited and stimulated Seward who had the inside track and meant to keep it.

41. Ibid. I;177

42. Ibid. II;13

43. Ibid. I;543

44. and 45. Ibid. I;545

46. Ibid. II;93

47. Ibid. II;251

48. Ibid. I;401-2

49. Ibid. I;132

The Secretary of the Treasury made himself as busy in the management of the army as he was in his own department. He too liked to engage in affairs that were not exactly in his department. On one occasion Welles wrote: "The Secretary of the Treasury has enough to do to attend to the finances without going into the cotton trade. But Chase is very ambitious and very fond of power. He has, moreover, the fault of most of our politicians, who believe that the patronage of office, or bestowment of public favors, is a source of popularity."
50.
It is the reverse, as he will learn."
^{mortification}

Chase at one time expressed, and chagrin that things were so conducted in the Cabinet, and that so few meetings were held. He disliked the secrecy on the part of some. Blair and Bates also voiced their disapproval of
51.
this state of affairs. In April, 1864 Welles wrote in his Diary, "Neither Chase nor Blair were at the Cabinet today, nor was Stanton. The course of these men (meaning Chase and Stanton, probably) is reprehensible, and yet the President, I am sorry to say, does not reprove but rather encourages it by bringing forward no important measure connected with either. As regards Chase, it is evident he presumes on his position and the condition of the finances to press a point, hoping it may
52.
favor his aspirations." At another Cabinet meeting,
Welles tells of how Seward and Stanton spent the whole meeting whispering and laughing in one corner about
53.
Chase, whom they appeared to think in a dilemma.

50. Ibid. II;34

51. Ibid. I;320

52. Ibid. II;17

53. Ibid. I;536

Many damaging stories were circulated about Chase. Welles thought that some were exaggerations, but he knew from a reliable source that there had been improprieties among the subordinates, and that Chase was cognizant of the facts. It surprised Mr. Welles that Chase would permit the person most implicated to retain a position of great trust. The stories could not be suppressed, and Mr. Blair said that Chase could not assent to a committee investigation, but that such action couldn't be avoided. "The committee will probably be mostly friends of Chase, as they should be, and none probably
54. will be unfair opponents."

Chase desired to succeed the President, and the movement to put Chase up for election began in December, 1863. Chase clubs were organized in various cities to control the nominating convention.

Then the movement to oust Seward started; Chase handed in his resignation to the President who accepted it eagerly at first, but later asked him to withdraw it. Chase remained in the Cabinet two years more, and in June of 1864 he again handed in his resignation which was accepted. David Tod was immediately nominated as his successor without the other members of the Cabinet.
55. Lincoln acted on his own impulse. The President had reached the conclusion that a separation must take place, and his decision was sustained by all of his Cabinet without exception. Welles says, "Chase's retirement has offended nobody, and has gratified almost everybody."
56. And again, "I feel a conviction that the

54. Ibid. II;21

55. Ibid. II;62

56. Ibid. II;34

country ... is benefited by Mr. Chase's retirement.
His longer continuance in the Treasury would have been
a calamity. It would have been better could he have
^{57.}
left earlier."

"The President has great regard for Chase's abilities but is glad to be relieved of him, for Chase has
been a load of late, -- is a little disappointed and
dissatisfied, has been captious, and uncertain, favored
the faultfinders, and, in a way, encouraged opposition
^{58.}
to the President."
elles again remarks on Lincoln's
attitude toward Chase, "The President fears Chase,
and he also respects him. He places a much higher
estimate on the financial talents of Chase than I do,
because, perhaps, we have been educated in different
schools. The President, as a follower of Clay, and as
a Whig, believes in expedients. I adhere to specie as
the true standard of value. With the resources of the
nation at his disposal, Chase had by his mental activity
and schemes contrived to draw from the people their
funds and credit in the prosecution of a war to which
they willingly give their blood as well as their
^{59.}
treasure."

Chase and Stanton intrigued to displace McClellan
to whom the President had adhered with tenacity.
Stanton at first tried to alienate Lincoln, but he
^{60.}
failed working alone, and brought Chase in to help him.

In December of the same year as his retirement,
Chase was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

57. Ibid. II:69

58. Ibid. II:65

59. Ibid. I:525

60. Ibid. I:119

STANTON

When Edwin Stanton was appointed Secretary of War in place of Simon Cameron, rumors began circulating about him. Mr. Welles records that "from current rumors I was not very favorably impressed in regard to Mr. Stanton. His remarks on the personal appearance of the President were coarse, and his freely expressed judgment on public measures unjust."^{61.} "It was represented that he eschewed the new administration, ridiculed the President, and freely expressed his opposition to the measures adopted and course pursued by the Government. The Secessionists distrusted him, and neither of the parties confided in him in the early days of the War. The Administration did not consider him one of its supporters, though he was on friendly terms with Seward. He had the reputation of being an Anti-Secession Democrat, who nevertheless wished to preserve his relationship with the Democratic Party,^{62.} and as having no fellowship with Republicans.^{63.} Welles himself had reason to know "that he (Stanton) was engaged with discontented and mischievous persons in petty intrigues to impair confidence in the administration."^{64.}

Stanton was doubtless the choice of Mr. Seward, who influenced the President and secured the appointment. Seward always looked upon Stanton as his protégé, and Stanton, with all his frankness, real and assumed, was careful to continue the impression of this connection with the Secretary of State. Toward the end of 1862, the year of his appointment, he evinced a growing indifference to Seward to whom he was at first devoted.^{65.}

61. Ibid. I;57

62. Ibid. I;55

63. Ibid. I;55

64. Ibid. I;58

65. Ibid. I;204

Seward's parties were at first made subservient to Stanton and his views, and no one contributed more to it than Seward himself. Mr. Stanton was, in the eyes of Mr. 66.
Seward, an appendage to him in the administration.

Although obligated to Seward in so many ways, Stanton would not hesitate to take sides against him to further 67.
his own ends.

Stanton mingled little in society and none with 68.
those in authority. Welles was not intimate with him, and thought him "by nature an intriguer, one who courts favor, "is not faithful in his friendship; is given to 69.
secret, underhand combinations." He "knew how to meet and move the leading spirits in Congress, and for that matter always had a little congress of his own. No one courted the members with more assiduous attention, or, in an adroit way, flattered and pandered to them with more 70.
success." Stanton had "energy and application, is industrious and driving, but devises nothing, shuns responsibility, and I doubt his sincerity always. ... He has cunning and skill, -- is a hypocrit, a moral coward, 71.
while affecting to be ... briseue, overvaliant in words."
Welles also said of him that if spending more of the public money than any other minister in all history makes one a great war minister, than Stanton may lay claim to greatness. 72.

The War Secretary was very exciteable. On the day when the Merrimac was destroyed by Confederate ships,

66. Ibid. I:68

67. Ibid. I:203

68. Ibid. I:55

69. Ibid. I:203

70. Ibid. I:68

71. Ibid. I:27

72. Ibid. I:69

Stanton was the most frightened man in the Cabinet. "He was at times almost frantic, and as he walked the room with his eyes fixed on me, I saw well the estimation in which he held me with my unmoved and unexcited manner and conversation."^{73.} "There was throughout the whole day something inexpressibly ludicrous in the wild, frantic talk, action and rage of Stanton as he ran from room to room, ~~sat~~^{sat} down and jumped up after writing a few words, swung his arms, scolded and raved. He could not fail to see and feel my opinion of him and his bluster, -- that I was calm and unmoved by his rant,^{74.} spoke deliberately, and was not excited by his violence."^{75.}

Welles put Stanton in a very unfavorable light in many of his comments on the Secretary. He had "a rude and offensive insolence for which he became notorious in the discharge of his official duties."^{76.} However, there was no question of his zeal, devotion and great labor in his office, despite doubts as to the wisdom of some of his measures and the value of his services. Welles thought Stanton could well be efficient and powerful, with the resources of a nation in men and money at his command. He used each without stint or scruple. When important things are on foot, "Stanton is wisely ignorant."^{77.} He is "fond of power and its exercise,"^{78.} More precious than pecuniary gain is dominance over his fellow men.^{79.} "He took pleasure in being ungracious and rough towards those who were under his control, and when

73. Ibid. I;62

74. Ibid. I;65

75. Ibid. I;64

76. Ibid. I;68

77. Ibid. I;68

78. Ibid. II;70

79. Ibid. I;67

he thought his bearish manner would terrify or humiliate those who were subject to him. To his superiors or those who were his equals in position or who neither heeded nor cared for his violence, he was complacent, sometimes obsequious. ... I am convinced he had but little moral courage nor much self-reliance when in trouble. It never struck me that he was mercenary or that he made use of his position to add to his private fortune, but he was reckless and regardless of public expenditure, and the war expenses were greater by hundreds of millions than was necessary, or than they would have been, had the

80.

Department been in other hands."

He was vigilant, often efficient, and his friend and patron Mr. Seward styled him the "Carnot of the War," "Stanton the Divine," which

Welles called "mere fulsome adulation from an old politician."^{81.}

Stanton was impulsive, not administrative; was

quick, often rash; more violent than vigorous, more

demonstrative than discriminating; more vain than wise;

and was rude, arrogant, and domineering toward subordinates.^{82.}

J.T.Morse, Jr. sums up Welles picture of

Doc

Stanton by calling him the friendless one whom no one

liked; whose virtues were devotion to cause, greed for

work, and financial integrity; whose faults were bullying,

violence and insolence, meanness and injustice; who

repeatedly outraged the forbearance of Mr. Lincoln. Morse

thinks that "Mr. Welles rends him and tears him without

83.

mercy." Welles' opinion also leads us to think Stanton's

function and methods of performing them almost preposter-

ously spectacular and despotic.^{84.}

80. Ibid. I;67

81. Ibid. I;68

82. Ibid. I;128

83. Ibid. I;xxii

84. Ibid. I;xxxviii

Stanton was always interfering with the affairs of the navy, and issuing orders without the knowledge of the Secretary of the Navy. Stanton thought the navy secondary to the army, and that he could order the navy to cooperate. Mr. Welles and Mr. Lincoln both refused to lend themselves to that view, Mr. Welles never recognizing Stanton's orders.

The Secretary made it a point to be absent from Cabinet meetings, so others had to run to him. When he did come he had little to say of importance. He did not approve of sending assistants to meetings, and he refused to discuss important questions in the presence of such people. Welles refused to run to Stanton for information, although others humored him in this matter. He had a cabinet~~s~~ and was a power in his own Department. "He receives the President and Seward, makes confidants of certain leading men, and is content to have matters move 85. on without being compelled to show his exact position." No member of the Cabinet but Mr. Seward enjoyed intimate relations with the Secretary of War, although Mr. Chase paid him assiduous attention, and was in return treated with due respect and courtesy. He may have been more communicative to Mr. Chase than to others, as he was more 86. often in the War office.

Blair was sincere and earnest in his dislike for Stanton. He said Stanton "is dishonest, that he has taken bribes, and that he is a double dealer; that he is now deceiving both Seward and Chase; that Seward brought him

85. Ibid. II;18

86. Ibid. I;61

into the Cabinet after Chase stole Cameron and that Chase
is now stealing Stanton.^{87.} He thought Stanton was talking
secession to one class and a different language to another.
He had betrayed the Buchanan administration to Seward, by
^{88.} telling him secret affairs. The Blairs charged Stanton
with infidelity to party and to country from mere selfish
considerations, and with being by nature treacherous and
^{89.} wholly unreliable. Blair did not approve of Stanton's
appointment, for he knew him in law practise, and knew
^{90.} things of him that discredited his integrity. Stanton
disliked to meet Blair in council, knowing that Blair
^{91.}
disliked and distrusted him.

Stanton and Seward were at odds over the question of
McClellan. It was Seward who got McClellan into command
in the first place. Stanton worked with Chase to bring
the about the dismissal of General, who they thought had not
^{92.} fulfilled his duties properly.

Chase did not approve of the War management, "although
he says he is on particularly friendly terms with Stanton.
In many respects, he says, Stanton has done well, although
he has unfortunate failings, making intercourse with him
at times exceedingly unpleasant; thinks he is earnest and
^{93.} energetic, though wanting in persistency, steadiness."

Stanton was of course associated intimately with
Halleck. Blair calls the two "heartless scoundrels" who
^{94.}
were ruining Lincoln and the country. The Secretary seemed

87: Ibid. I;127

88. Ibid. I;355

89. Ibid. I;356

90. Ibid. I;59

91. Ibid. II;91

92. Ibid. I;113

93. Ibid. I;402

94. Browning. Op.cit. 605

to throw the responsibility off on to Halleck. At one time Welles spoke of Stanton, Halleck, and Grant as all "asleep

96. or dumb," and thought it was a misfortune to retain the
97.

first two. Stanton offered to hand in his resignation at the time when the opposition to Seward reached its height, but the President refused to accept it, saying all he

98. wanted at the time was that of Chase, which he did not accept after all.

To Welles Stanton was courteously civil, but reserved
99.

and distant. "There was no immediate cordiality between
100.

us, but there was formal courtesy." For several months

after his appointment, he exhibited some of his peculiar traits toward Welles. "He is by nature a sensationalist, has from the first been filled with panics and alarms,

in which I have not participated. ... He knows I neither
101.

admire his policy nor indorse his views." After the Merrimac incident, Stanton appeared to have satisfied himself that he had mistaken Welles' true character. "No member

of the Cabinet did he thenceforward treat with more courtesy and consideration, and the roughness and some-
thing worse which he manifested towards some of our
102.

colleagues he never extended to me." After the naval success at New Orleans they moved along harmoniously at
103.

least.

WELLES Welles estimation of himself and his relations with his colleagues is interesting, if not amusing. In telling of Stanton's lack of self control, he represents himself who is as one/not easily excited, and who is calm in the face of

95. Ibid. II;77

96. Ibid. II;73

97. Ibid. II;130

98. Ibid. I;202

99. Ibid. I 128

100. Ibid. I;60

101. Ibid. I;128

102. Ibid. I;67

103. Ibid. I;128

disaster. He could even treat Stanton's bluster with
104.
indifference. He was a very honorable sort of person
who didn't care to go into any combinations or movements
against his colleagues, and as much as he disliked
Stanton, he did not care to aid Blair in his desire to
105.
oust the War Secretary.

Welles was attacked by many newspapers and active
partisans. "I am inclined to believe that there have
been whispered misrepresentations from sly intriguers
in regard to me that have given anxiety to Blair and
106.
Dennison." He believed that Stanton may have received
unfavorable impressions from these "misrepresentations";
at any rate, Welles knew Stanton had given hostile advice
107.
to others concerning him when he was first in office.

Welles says that he was never a favorite of Seward,
108.
who wanted personal friends, and that Seward and his
friend, Thurlow Weed, a New York political leader and
newspaper editor, were opposed to Welles' entering the
109.
Cabinet as they were to the appointment of Chase. Of
Seward's interference in the Navy Department he says,
"I was thwarted and embarrassed by the secret inter-
110.
ference of the Secretary of State in my operations."
He was not always very cordially welcomed into consul-
tations at which Lincoln, Seward, Fessenden, and Stan-
ton were present. Fessenden was the least disagreeable
111.
of the group. Welles didn't like this system of carrying
on affairs of the nation without consultation of all

104. Ibid. I;67

105. Ibid. I;127

106. Ibid. I;509

107. Ibid. I;60

108. Ibid. I;123

109. Ibid. I;204

110. Ibid. I;84

111. Ibid. II;119-120

the Cabinet members. He did not care to administer the naval affairs without the concent or at least a review of the Cabinet. He prefered to have all the Secretaries

112.

know before hand what was to happen. His comment upon a Cabinet meeting held shortly his return to Washington from an official visit to the Navy Yards was: "Met the members of the Cabinet with the exception of Stanton at the regular meeting. All glad to see me, -- none more so than the President, who cordially and earnestly greeted me. I have been less absent than any other member and

113.

was therefore perhaps more missed."

The Secretary of the Navy was on good terms with Bates who said he felt ~~so~~ intimate and friendly only with Welles, who had his confidence and respect, and had from

114.

their first meeting.

That Welles had an over-dose of conceit is again seen in his comments of the resignation of Chase. "Chase had not thought proper to consult me as to his resignation, nor had the President as to his action upon it, or the selection. My first impression was that he had consulted Seward and perhaps Blair. I learn, however, he advised

115.

with none of his Cabinet, but acted on his own impulse."

In another comment he brags a bit about the confidences people give him. "The retirement of Chase, so far as I hear opinion expressed -- and they are generally freely given, -- appears to give relief rather than otherwise, which surprises me. I had thought it might create a shock for a brief period, though I did not fear that it would be lasting. I look upon it as a blessing. The

112. Ibid. I;134

113. Ibid. I;431

114. Ibid. II;93

115. Ibid. II;62

country could not go on a great while longer under his management, which has been one of ~~xxx~~ expedients and of no fixed principles or profound and correct financial knowledge.^{116.}

Welles was a person with very definite ideas and opinions, with a very high and exalted idea of himself, which perhaps is not so unusual and strange, after all. He was probably more frank in writing in his diary than he would have been writing for print.

BLAIR

Montgomery Blair was a man of sense and a right appreciation of things. Welles valued his opinion, although he refused to sign the petition Blair drew up to oust McClellan; despite his dislike for the General,^{117.} he wanted more time to consider such action.^{118.}

Welles compares the Blairs with Chase. "The Blairs are pugnacious, but their general views, especially those of Montgomery Blair, have seemed to me sound and judicious in the main. ... Chase is deficient in magnanimity and generosity. The Blairs have both, but they have strong resentments. Warfare with them is open, bold, and unsparing. With Chase it is silent, persistent, but regulated with discretion. Blairs make no false professions. Chase avows no enmities.^{119.} In 1863 Blair made a speech that placed him in direct antagonism to Chase and Sumner on the admiralty law.^{120.}

Blair was as potent with Lincoln as either Seward and Chase, and sometimes equal to both. Although egoistic,

116. Ibid. II;63

117. Ibid. II;137

118. Ibid. I;95

119. Ibid. II;20

120. Ibid. I;467

has good sense, better knowledge and estimate of military men than either of the other two, and is possessed of more solid, reliable administrative ability." There was a deep personal friendship between Lincoln and Blair, which lasted even after Blair's resignation. Blair was vexed because the President frequently made a confident and adviser of Seward without consulting the rest of the Cabinet. Welles wrote, "I told him this had been the course from the beginning; Seward and Chase had each striven for the position of Special Executive Counsel; that it had apparently been divided between the, but Seward had outgeneraled or outintrigued Chase. The latter was often consulted when others were not, but often he was not aware of things which were intrusted to Seward (who was superserviceable) and managed by him."^{121.}

Bates always "thought pretty well" of Blair, although there was no real intimacy or friendliness between them.^{122.} Between Blair and Stanton cordiality never existed.^{123.}

In September, 1864, Blair received a letter from Lincoln reminding him of his promise to retire when Lincoln wanted, and telling him that the time had come. Blair thought the action was a peace offering to Fremont and his friends, and that Seward was an accessory to the movement to oust him. Welles thought Chase had been more influential than Seward in the matter. "In parting with Blair the President parts with a true friend, and he leaves no adviser so able, bold, and sagacious. Honest, truthful,

121. Ibid. I;205

122. Ibid. II;86

123. Ibid. II;93

124. Ibid. II;102

125. Ibid. II;156

126. Ibid. II;157

127. Ibid. II;157

and sincere, he has been wise, discriminating, and
128.
correct."

Of Dennison who was appointed to succeed Blair, Welles
said, "He is a good man, and I know of no better one to
129.
have selected."

CAMERON Cameron was put in the War Department by Seward and
was an ally of the Secretary of State. When he was unable
to get him into the Treasury Department, Cameron changed
130.
his allegiance and allied himself with Chase.

Fessenden, who came into the Cabinet after Cameron
had resigned, said that "whatever mistakes Cameron might
have made in the administration of the War Department,
131.
there was nothing to fix suspicion upon his integrity."
The President was reluctant to remove Cameron, and only
a conviction of its absolute necessity and the unauthorized
assumption of executive power in Cameron's annual report,
132.
would have led the President to take the step. Cameron
was retired from office for "certain loose matters of
contracts, and because he had not the grasp, power, energy,
comprehension, and important qualities essential to the
administration of the War Department of that period, to
133.
say nothing of his affiliation with Chase."

McCULLOCH Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury for a short
time, "wants political knowledge and experience, ... has
been a successful banker." Welles said one could not
134.
prejudge his success in the Treasury.

128. Ibid. II;157

129. Ibid. II;157

130. Ibid. I;126-127

131. Browning, Op.cit. 525

132. Welles. Op.cit. I;58

133. Ibid. I;57

134. Ibid. II;253

BATES

Of Bates, Welles says, "The old man is very honest and right-minded; delights to be thought a little -- or a good deal -- obstinate, if satisfied he is right."^{135.} He resigned November 26, 1864.

USHER

John Usher, following Smith in the Department of the Interior, "made some inquiries and suggestions about bringing down the price of gold and compelling banks and others to disgorge that were worthy an old Whig of thirty years gone by. His ideas were crude, absurd, and ridiculous."^{136.} He evidently has never given the subject attention.^{137.} Usher was undoubtedly influenced by Seward. He had great curiosity. He sat quietly listening to Lincoln and Stanton's private confab.^{137a.}

FESSENDEN

Of Fessenden, who succeeded Chase in the Treasury, Welles says, "He has abilities; is of the same school as Chase. ... Yet I have had an impression that Fessenden is an improvement upon Chase, and I trust he is."^{138.} Later he changed his mind about the new Secretary, and wrote that the Treasury is a place he (Fessenden) does not like and cannot full. He was not a very useful man to devise measures in council, has ability as a critic and adviser, but is querulous and angular. "His ability is acute rather than comprehensive. My intercourse with him had been pleasant, but not very intimate."^{139.}

At another time Welles said of Fessenden that he certainly knew as little of men as Chase. Welles thought that many of Fessenden's actions were dictated by Chase, for he wrote, "The regulations of Mr. Fessenden are tainted with Chase's schemes and errors."^{140.} Stanton, Chase, and

135. Ibid. II;162
136. Ibid. II;11
137. Ibid. II;195
137a. Ibid. I;546

138. Ibid. II;64
139. Ibid. II;240.
140. Ibid. II;220
141. Ibid. II;138

others had imposed on Fessenden in many ways. "Fessenden is ... very much of a partisan, and his feelings have made him the victim of a very cunning intrigue. He dislikes Seward, and yet is, through other instrumentalities, the creature to some extent of Seward."^{142.} Although earlier in Fessenden's career in the Cabinet Welles had written, that Seward could hardly have been consulted on the choice of Fessenden "for Fessenden has been his sharp and avowed opponent of late, and unless he has changed, or shall change, will prove a troublesome man for him in the Cabinet."^{143.}

Almost as closely interwoven into the affairs of the administration as the Cabinet members, were Halleck and several of the generals on whom Lincoln and Stanton and the others were forced to rely.

True to his characteristic of not liking many people, Welles writes in an uncomplimentary fashion about Halleck. He thought Halleck lacked the magnanimity and justice to acknowledge or even mention the service that the navy rendered the army. And when important things are going on, "Halleck is in a perfect maze, bewildered, without intelligent decision or self-reliance. ... Stanton seems stupid, Halleck always does."^{144.} Only once did Welles seem to think well of Halleck. "While I do not place a high estimate on Halleck himself, his expressed opinion of Banks (that Banks was no general) corresponds with my own."^{145.}

142. Ibid. II;173

143. Ibid. II;65

144. Ibid. II;13

145. Ibid. II;70

146. Ibid. II;18

HALLECK

Bates did not like Halleck either, and deliberately charged him with "intentional falsehood and put it in writing, that there should be no mistake or claim to have misapprehended him. He regretted that the President should have such a fellow near him."^{147.}

MCCLELLAN

Over McClellan there was much controversy in the Cabinet. Stanton "spoke in terms which clearly indicated his want of confidence in McClellan."^{148.} With the aid of Chase he circulated a petition against continuing McClellan in command and demanding his immediate dismissal. Welles refused to sign the petition at once as he wanted time to consider the matter. Although at one time he had thought that McClellan might better have filled Halleck's place, he had changed his mind, and from what he had heard, he wanted McClellan removed.^{150.} Smith had not yet signed the document when it was brought to Welles, but he was to affix his signature to it later.^{151.}

faith

Lincoln at first had fullest ~~confidence~~ in McClellan, in April, 1862, and he assured Browning that "he still had confidence in McClellan's fidelity."^{152.} Later Lincoln became "impatient and dissatisfied with McClellan's sluggishness of action."^{153.} However, Blair with some of the others clung to McClellan.^{154.}

McClellan was nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic party in August, 1864.

GRANT

The first time Welles saw Grant was at a reception at the President's. "There was hesitation, a degree of

147. Ibid. I;93

148. Browning. Op.cit. 533

149. Welles. Op.cit. I;93

150. Ibid. II;30

151. Ibid. I;94-5

152. Ibid. I;94

153. Browning. Op.cit. 537

154. Ibid. 540

awkwardness in the General, and embarrassment in that
part of the room^{155.} in which he stood. At first Welles
did not know who Grant was for he wrote, "I saw some men
in uniform standing at the entrance, and one of them, a
short, brown, dark-haired man, was talking with the Pres-
ident."^{156.} As he passed to the East Room, a cheer or two
and clapping of hands followed, "all of which seemed rowdy
and unseemly."^{157.} After the reception Grant went to a
Cabinet meeting. "There was in his deportment little of
dignity and bearing of the soldier, but more of an air of
business than his first appearance indicated but he showed
latent power."^{158.} He "appeared to better advantage than
when I first saw him, but he is without presence."^{159.}

Grant "is no braggart and does not mean to have
tidings precipitated in advance," was Welles comment on
Grant's unwillingness to have news spread before the out-
come was certain. He was not a good judge of men, and
did not appreciate the strong and particular points of
character.^{160.} He "is reticent and ... less able than he is
credited. He relies on others, but does not know men,
can't discriminate."^{161.} The Petersburg matter awakened
apprehension "that Grant is not equal to the position
assigned him."^{162.} At another time Welles wrote, "I do not
distrust or deprecate General Grant; but, if he has
ability, I think he needs a better second in command, a
more competent executive officer than General Meade, and
he should have known that fact earlier."^{163.}

155. Welles. Op.cit. I;558

164. Ibid. II;94

156. Ibid. I;538

157. Ibid. I;539

158. Ibid. I;540

159. Ibid. I;539

160. Ibid. II;25-26

161. Ibid. II;222

162. Ibid. II;92

163. Ibid. II;92

Toward the end of the war Welles wrote, "In the closing up of this Rebellion, General Grant has proved himself a man of military talent. Those who have doubted and hesitated must concede him some capacity as a general. Though slow and utterly destitute of genius, his final demonstrations and movements have been masterly. The persistency which he has exhibited is as much to be admired as any quality in his character. He is, however, too regardless of the lives of his men."^{165.}"

JOHNSON

Welles says little about Mr. Johnson, except that he does not regret that Johnson was nominated for Vice-President instead of Hamlin. Later, after Johnson had become President, Welles said that the Cabinet meetings "are better and more punctually attended than under Mr. Lincoln's administration, and measures are more generally discussed, which undoubtedly tends to better administration."^{166.}

SUMNER

Mr. Welles gives a long estimate of the character of Sumner. "In many very essential respects Sumner is deficient as a party leader, though he has talents, acquirements, sincerity, and patriotism, with much true and false philanthropy. He is theoretical rather than practical. Is egotistical, credulous to weakness with those who are his friends; is susceptible to flattery from any quarter, and had not the suspicions and jealousies that are too common with men in position. There

165. Ibid. II;276

166. Ibid. II;318

is want of breadth, enlarged comprehension, in his statesmanship. He is not a Constitutional, has no organizing and constructive powers, and treats the great fundamental principles of the organic law much as he would the resolutions of the last national party convention. Towards the slaveholders he is implacable, and is ready to go to extremes to break up not only the system of bondage, but the political, industrial, and social system in all the rebellious States. His theorizing propensities and the resentments that follow from deep personal injuries work together in his warfare against that domineering oligarchy which has inflicted great calamities on our country and wrongs on himself. He would not only free the slaves but elevate them above their former masters, yet, with all his studied philanthropy and love for the negroes in the abstract, is unwilling to fellowship with them, though he thinks he is. It is, however, ideal, book philanthropy.

"As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, his services at this time are invaluable. He is, fortunately, in many respects the opposite of Seward, has higher culture and, on international law and the science of government, is vastly better informed and greatly ^{the superior} of the Secretary of State. He can, right or wrong, stand firm and immovable on great questions, but is swayed by little social appeals to his kindness. His knowledge of men is imperfect and unreliable, ^{and hence,} while he will always have position with his party and influence its movements he will never be the trusted leader."
167.

LINCOLN

and what of the President and his place among these men? Welles wrote "He is sometimes, but not often, deceived by heartless intriguers, who impose upon him. Some appointments have been secured by mischievous men, which would never have been made had he known the facts. In some respects he is a singular man and not fully understood. He has great sagacity and shrewdness, but sometimes his assertion or management is astray. When he relies on his own right intentions and good common sense, he is strongest. So in regard to friends whom he distrusts, and mercenary opponents, in some of whom he confides. A great and almost inexcusable error for a man in his position."^{168.} He "never shunned any responsibility and often declared that he, and not his Cabinet, was in fault for error imputed to them, when I sometimes thought otherwise."^{169.} Lincoln took the blame for Seward's interference in the assignment of ships in the Sumter expedition.^{170.} Lincoln often seemed to have avoided the expression of any opinion.^{171.} He had little administrative experience, but "in a gentle manner gradually let it be understood that Abe Lincoln was chief."^{172.}

Because of some of Seward's activities, Lincoln soon became convinced "that he must not give implicit trust to anyone, but depend on his own judgment in matters of importance."^{173.} He was/unsuspicious of attempts to gain his favor and his ear, and readily listened to suggestions of anyone, although he did not always follow them.^{174.} However, Welles said that Lincoln was often induced

168. Ibid. I;521

169. Ibid. I;25

170. I;32

171. Ibid. I;37

172. Ibid. I;37

173. Ibid. I;37

174. Ibid. I;132

into well-intentioned but irregular proceedings. "The President is honest, sincere, and confiding, -- traits which are not so prominent in some by whom he is surrounded." He "had good sense, intelligence, and an excellent heart, but is sadly perplexed and distressed by events. He, to an extent, distrusts his own administrative ability and experience. Seward, instead of strengthening and fortifying him, encourages this self-distrust, but is not backward in giving his own judgment and experience, which are often defective expedients, to guide the Executive."^{176.}

On the matter of re-election Welles wrote, "The subject is one on which I cared to exhibit no intense partisanship, and I may misjudge the tone of public sentiment, but my convictions are and have been that it is best to re-elect the President, and if I mistake not this is the public opinion. On this question, while not forward to announce my views, I have had no concealment."^{177.}

Chase was not always in sympathy with Lincoln. In discussing the army and naval operations, he lamented the President's "want of energy and force, which he said paralyzed everything. His weakness was crushing us. I did not respond to this distinct feeler, and the conversation changed."^{178.} Blair remarked "Strange, strange that the President, who has sterling ability, should give himself over so completely to Stanton and Seward."^{180.}

Lincoln knew little of what the army was doing. He depended on the War Department to give him news, but they didn't always know the facts themselves. The President

175. Ibid. I;240

176. Ibid. II;131

177. Ibid. I;131

178. Ibid. I;509

179. Ibid. I;521

180. Ibid. I;329

was kept in ignorance and deferr^{ed} to the others who knew more of war procedure. "Lincoln has a modest distrust of himself in these affairs, and this is taken advantage of." 181. He tried to encourage others despite ⁱⁿ accurate news of war events. Welles perceived his doubts and misgivings, and thought his fears probably were the result of absence of facts, rather than from any information received, as 182. were those of Welles himself.

At the close of 1863 Welles said that the year ended more satisfactorily than it began. The war had had success, despite some errors, and the factions in the party which put party interests before country were taking care of themselves. "The heart of the nation is sounder and its 183. hopes brighter." "The President has well maintained his position, and under trying circumstances acquitted himself in a manner that will be better appreciated in the future than now. It is not strange that he is sometimes de- ceived and fails to discriminate rightly between true and false friends, and has, though rarely, been the victim of 184. the prejudices and duplicity of others."

In March of 1865 Lincoln visited the front. Stanton remarked that "it was quite as pleasant to have the Presi- 185. dent away," and that "he (Stanton) was much less annoyed."

Lincoln's choice of a Cabinet had aroused much comment. Lincoln in speaking of the talk said "that the Cabinet he had selected" in view of impending difficulties and of all the responsibilities upon himself; that he and the members had gone on harmoniously, whatever had been

181. Ibid. I;329

182. Ibid. I;293

183. Ibid. I;499

184. Ibid. I;500

185. Ibid. II;269

their party feelings and associations; that there had never been serious disagreements, though there had been differences; that in the overwhelming troubles of the country, which had borne heavily upon him, he had been sustained and consoled by the good feeling and the mutual and unselfish confidence and zeal that pervaded the Cabinet.¹⁸⁶ In relation to the Cabinet meetings Lincoln said the necessities of the times had prevented frequent and long sessions of the Cabinet, and the submission of every question at the meetings.¹⁸⁷ The whole Cabinet seldom met, and there was "really very little of a government."¹⁸⁸ Seward spent much of each day with the President, absorbing his attention, and Welles feared, influenced Lincoln's actions not always wisely.¹⁸⁹ Chase and Stanton did not come to meetings usually, and Seward, when he did, usually sat in a corner with the President and whispered, but didn't bring up any of the affairs of his Department.¹⁹⁰ Seward's secretiveness of affairs of the State caused a reticence by others, and the government was administered largely by Departments.¹⁹¹

At the close of 1863, Welles wrote of the Cabinet, "The Cabinet, if a little discordant in some of its elements, has been united as regards him (Lincoln). Chase has doubtless some aspirations for the place of chief Executive, which are conflicting. Seward has, I think, surrendered any expectation for the present, and shows wisdom in giving the President a fair support. Blair and Bates are earnest friends of the President, and so, I think,

186 Ibid. I;195

187. Ibid. I;196

188. Ibid. I;131

189. Ibid. I;131

190. Ibid. II;58

191. Ibid. I;133

is Usher. Stanton is insincere, but will I have no
doubt, act with Seward under present circumstances.^{192.}

Welles believed that, in spite of everything,
Lincoln had respect and regard for each member of the
^{193.} Cabinet, which is more than some of the members had for
each other, if we are to judge from the picture Welles
gives of the relations of the members.

192. Ibid. I;500
193. Ibid. I;132

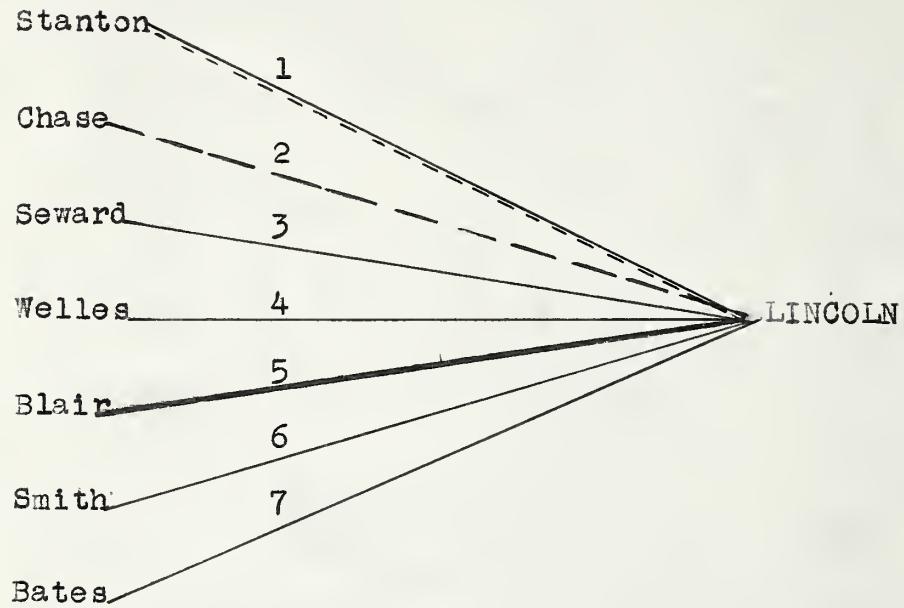
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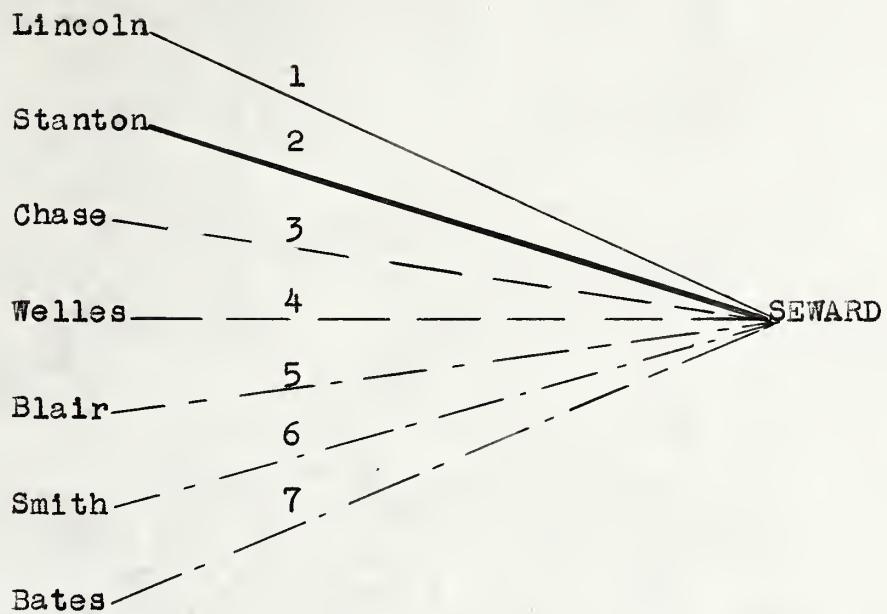
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Mifflin Co., 1911. 3v.

KEY TO CHARTS

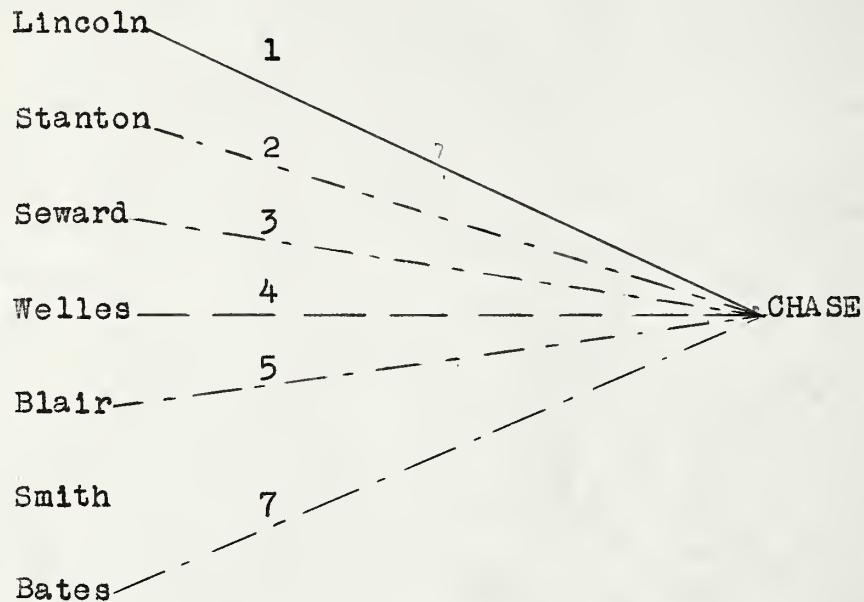
- Warm, almost intimate,
very cordial
- Good, friendly, quite
cordial
- - Uncertain, not easily
defined
- - - Unfriendly, not always
cordial
- - - - Antagonistic, at times
very unfriendly, insincere



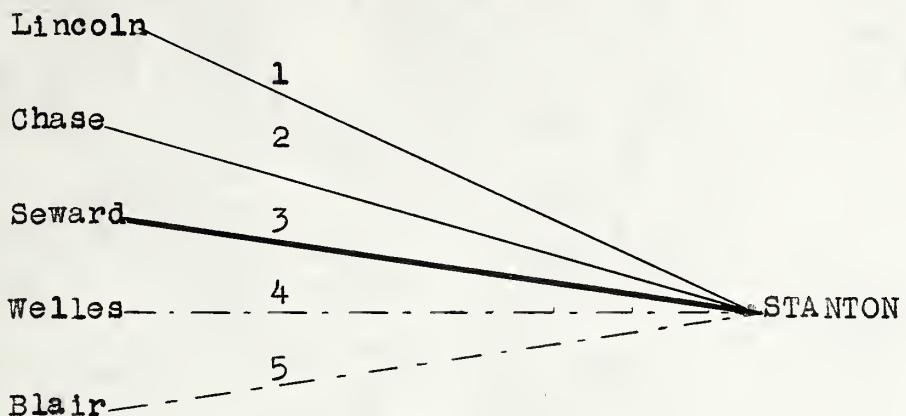
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6. 1;500,
7. 1;500, 1;329,



1. 1;205, 1;37,
2. 1;61, 1;204,
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6. 1;193, 1;119, 1;203,
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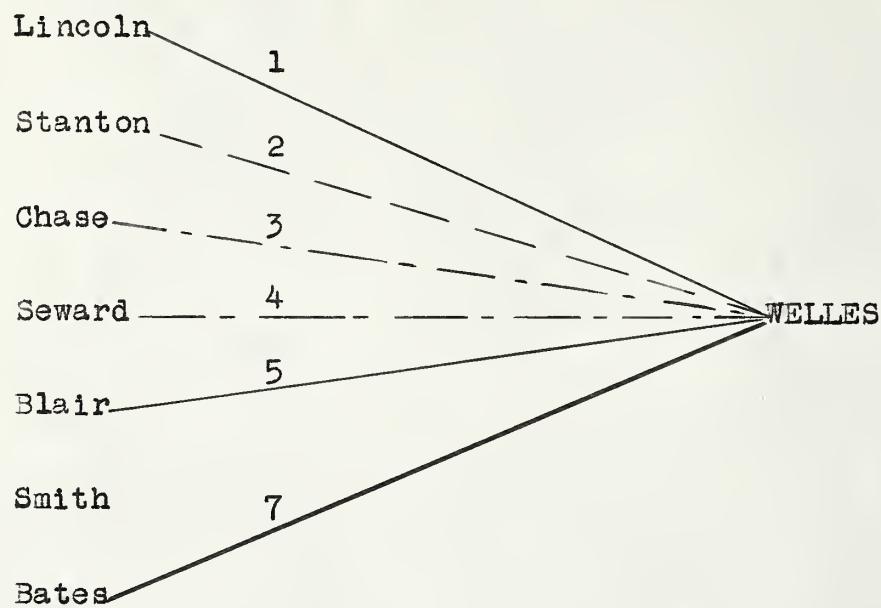
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7. 2;93



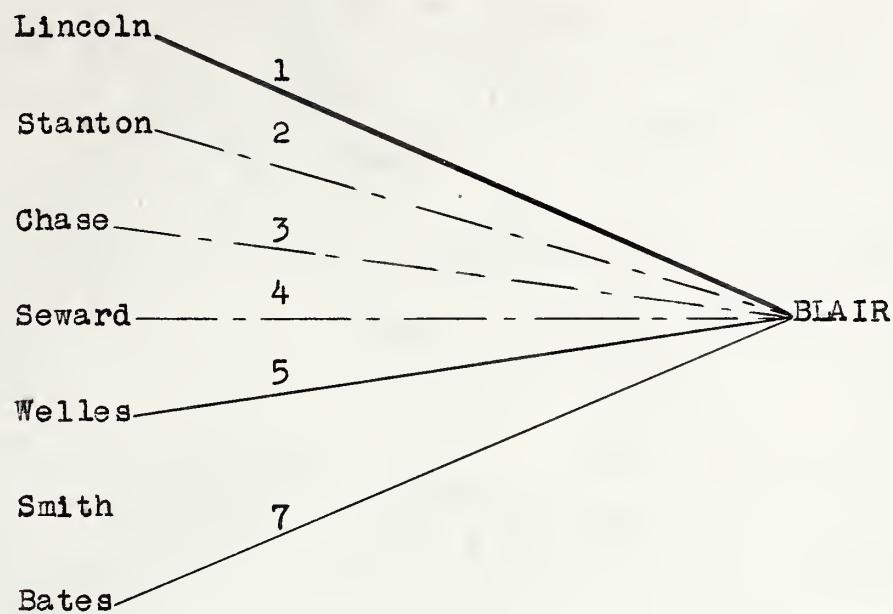
Smith

Bates

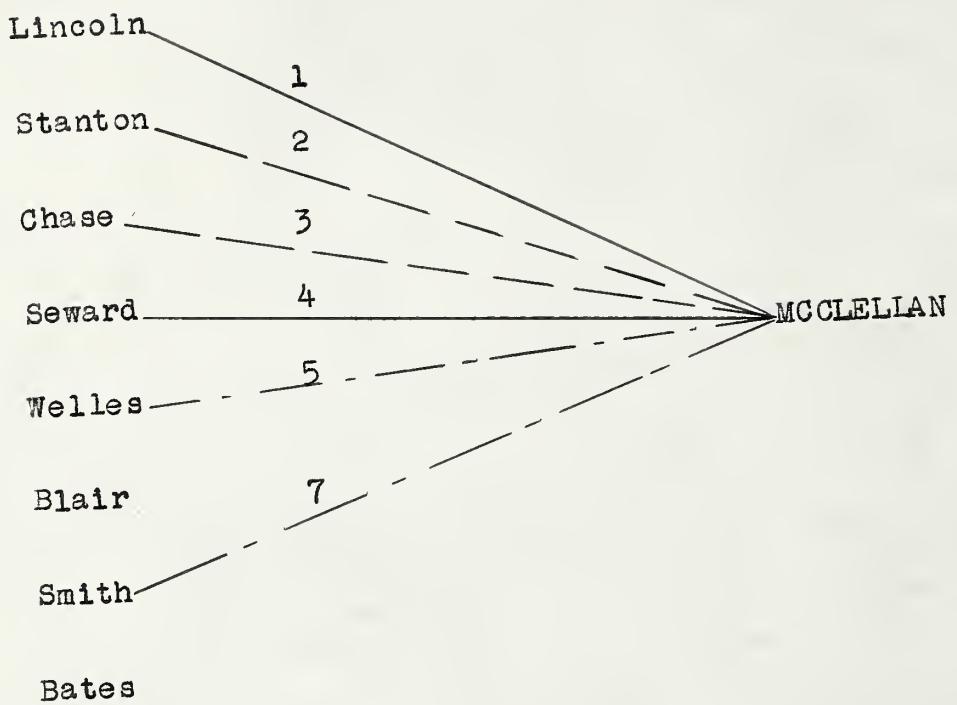
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2;17, 2;130,
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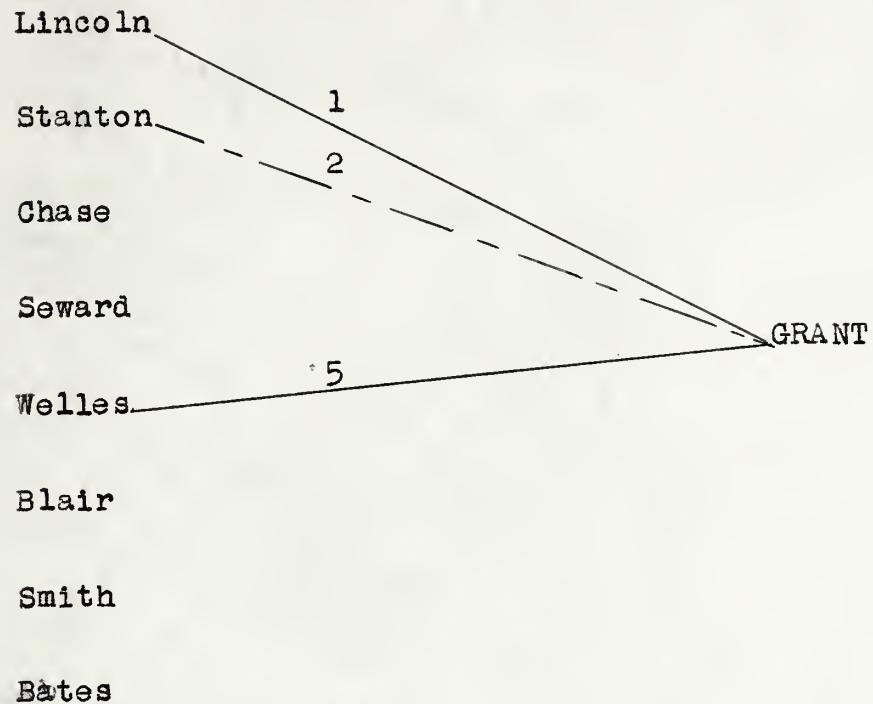
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7. 2;93,



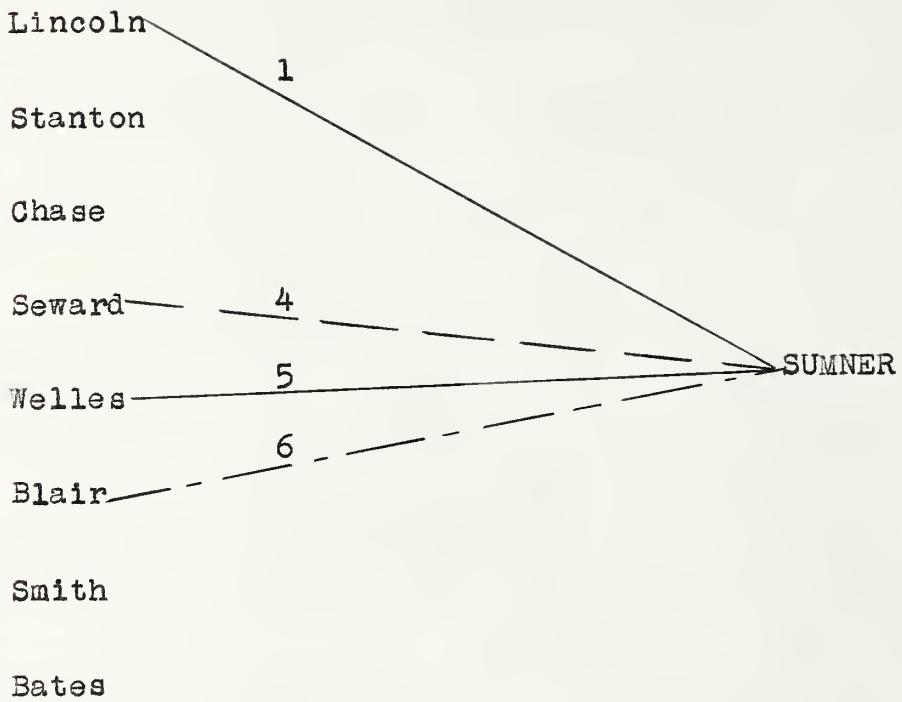
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1. 1;119,
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4. 1;113,
5. 1;94-5,
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2. 2;79-80,
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5. 1;xlvii, 1;540, 2;25-6, 2;94, 2;276,
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1. 2;287-88,
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4. 1;285, 1;196-7,
5. 2;197, 1;484,
6. 1;467,
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The American Autograph Shop - Ridley Park

List # 29

1934

CAMERON AND STANTON AND CONTRACTS

23. CAMERON, SIMON, Secr. of War, in Pres. Lincoln's Cabinet. A. L. S. 8vo, 2pges, to Stanton, March 10th, 1862. This letter refers to the threatening letter of one Courtney Schenk, who claims that certain Army contracts were awarded to people who never existed. This letter, 4to 2 closely written pages in no uncertain languag also present, also an A. L. S. of Cameron, written on the same day to his assailant, 8vo, 2pges, with quite different contents than the one written to Stanton on the same subject. The lot of 3 letters, on an unwritten story of Civil War graft, quite near the President and in the Presidents cabinet. 17.50.

My dear Sir.

PRIVATE.

In looking over my letters which had laid on my table for some days, I found the enclosed one, which I had for you personal together with my answer.

I know nothing about the case but the letter does not give me a favorable character of its writer.

Unluckily a part of the letter was some-how torn off, after I read it, and that part asserted that Mrs. Lincoln was one of the parties whose influence had operated on me.

Bennett of the Herold, did write me a letter in behalf of Wykoff, & noting this brother-in-law was to be W. partner. In order to gratify Bennett, I did some months ago, request Scott to give an order to Wykoff,—and it may be that this man Schenck is some how connected with it.

I am right glad to see you have divided "the great army of the Potomac", and I am particular pleased with your selections as Generals to command the different Corps. I shall now look for some substantial results. I have great hope that McDowell will now be redeemed from the misfortune of "Bull Run". Your Friend Simon Cameron.

24. CANADA. An Act for Importing Salt from Europe into the Province of Quebec in America, for a limited time. Folio, Royal Arms on title, London (Mark Baskett) 1764. 5.00.

LINCOLN'S CABINET WAS COMPOSED OF VERY ABLE AND BRILLIANT MEN

Civil War President Had Two Secretaries of the Interior, Smith and Usher—Gideon Welles Headed Navy Department From 1861

to 1869—Salmon P. Chase an Outstanding Chief of the Treasury—Later Was Chief Justice.

(Conclusion.)

During the Civil War there were two Secretaries of the Interior, Cabel B. Smith and John P. Usher. Secretary Smith was one of the 96 men of that familiar name who had served in the American Congress some time between the years 1774 and 1927. He was born in Boston, Mass., April 16, 1803, and served in the House of Representatives from Indiana from 1843 to 1849. Like other members of Lincoln's Cabinet, he was a member of the famous Peace Commission which met in 1861 in the old Willard Hall Building, which stood on F Street about at the western end of the Willard Hotel, in an effort to devise means to prevent the impending war.

He went into office with President Lincoln and remained until Jan. 1, 1863, when he resigned to become judge of the United States District Court for the District of Indiana. While a Cabinet officer he resided at 288 H St. North, which according to the new system of numbering now would be on H Street between Connecticut Avenue and 17th Street. He died in Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 7, 1864.

John P. Usher.

John P. Usher was a native of Brookfield, N.Y., having been born in Brookfield, in Madison County, in that State, Jan. 9, 1816. He was a lawyer and on March 20, 1862, was appointed First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the position he held when he was elevated on Jan. 8, 1863, to the office of Secretary vacated by Mr. Smith. After the war he resumed the practice of law at Lawrence, Kans., and died in Philadelphia, Pa., April 13, 1889.

The writer did not find Mr. Usher's Washington address in the city directory.

From the very early days when St. John's Church, the Decatur House and the Dolly Madison residence were about all the buildings on Lafayette Square it was still looked upon as the coming social center of Washington, and even today, though crowded somewhat by business enterprises, the early inhabitant sees much to admire in the old buildings that have been permitted to remain.

Gideon Welles while serving as Secretary of the Navy, from 1861 to 1869, in Lincoln's and Johnson's Cabinets, lived in the residence erected by Commodore Richard Stockton at 1607 H St., then facing the White House, but no longer standing. John Slidell, who left the United States Senate and cast his fortunes with the Confederacy, resided there from 1853 to 1861. It was Slidell who was sent to France by the Southern States as a commissioner, but was taken from a British vessel on the high seas by Capt. John Wilkes, and later released and an apology offered by the

1865, he was living on K Street between 12th and 13th Streets.

Though born in New Hampshire, yet Fessenden represented the State of Maine in the Senate from 1854 to 1864, when he resigned. He, too, was one of the big men of the country who attended the peace convention of 1861, with the best of intentions, that came to naught. Mr. Fessenden returned to the Senate in 1865 and served until his death, in Portland, Me., Sept. 9, 1869.

Two Attorney Generals.

Lincoln had two Attorney Generals, Edward Bates and James Speed. The former, like so many of our great men, was a native of Virginia, but was representing a district in Missouri in the House of Representatives when invited to become a member of the War Cabinet. He was much older than the President, having been born in 1793, and even saw service in the War of 1812-1815 as a sergeant. He, too, was a lawyer and practiced in St. Louis, Mo., where he also held political office. He served in the House of Representatives from 1827 to 1829, and in 1850 declined the invitation of President Fillmore to become the Secretary of War, entered Lincoln's Cabinet in 1861, and resigned in September, 1864. He died in St. Louis March 25, 1869. His Washington residence was on F Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets N.W.

James Speed, who followed Mr. Bates as Attorney General, taking office in 1864, was a Kentuckian, having been born in Louisville, in that State, in 1812, and died there June 25, 1887. He was also a lawyer of note and rendered conspicuous aid to the North when help was most needed. Indeed, it has been said that it was his firm attitude that brought about the most effective steps taken by the loyalists of Kentucky to keep the State in the Union. After he left the Cabinet he resumed the practice of law in Louisville and continued active in politics as well. He supported Grant in both campaigns, but shifted in 1884 and helped to elect Grover Cleveland. In 1886 he resided on H Street between 16th and 17th Streets, which might have been his address before this date.

Speaking of Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster General, is like speaking of home folks, for here still resides in the old Pennsylvania Avenue mansion his son, Maj. Gist Blair, a fine representative of a fine family, and the same can be said of Woodbury Blair, another son of Montgomery and grandson of Francis Preston Blair, who with John C. Rives published for many years in this city the *Globe*.

Famous Barrel of Whisky.

Francis Preston Blair was born in Virginia in 1791 and came to Washington in 1830 in the interest of President

Ohio and was a candidate for the United States Senate when Garfield was selected, in 1880, for that honor.

It may have been forgotten, but Washington at one time felt rather resentful toward Mr. Dennison because as a rank outsider he was selected in 1874 to serve as one of the commissioners of the District of Columbia under the temporary commission form of government, the law then omitting the three years' residence clause, and Gen. Grant took advantage of the loophole and appointed his friend, Gov. Dennison. Later the law was changed, but what's the use of going further!

The Indianapolis Sunday Star 2/17/37

Selection of Official Family Presented Lincoln with a Most Perplexing Problem

NO PERSONAL FRIEND NAMED

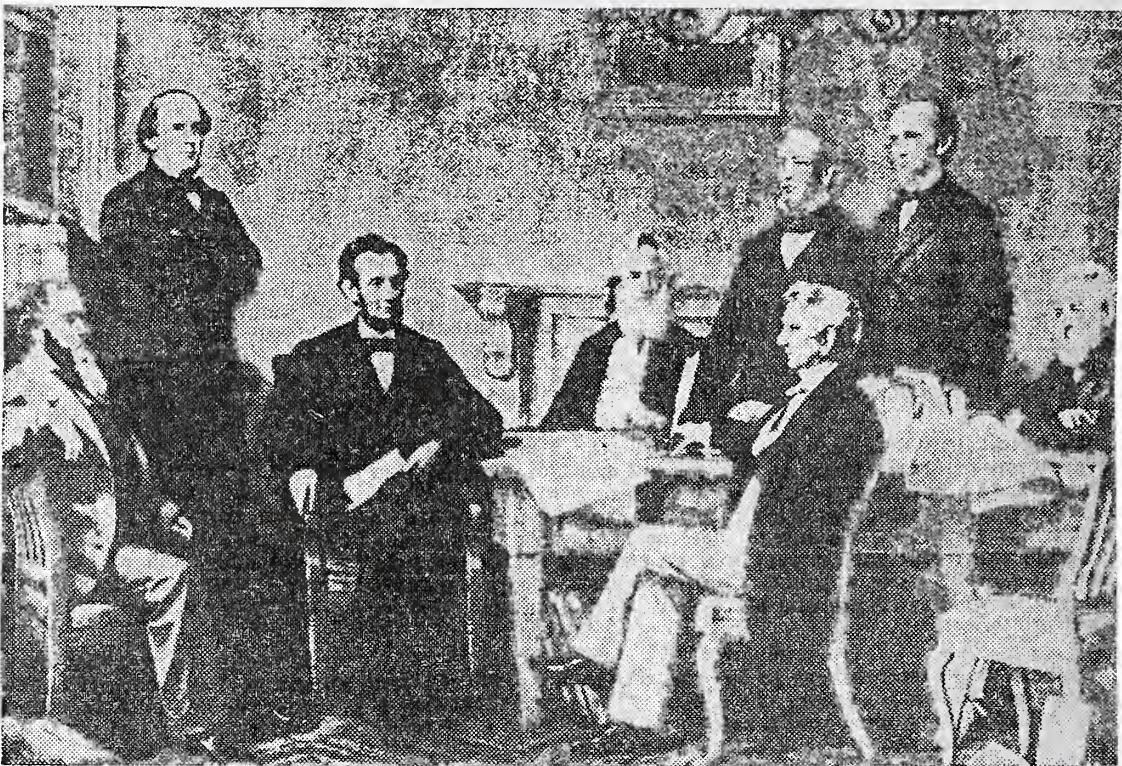
Many Questions Demanded
Consideration in Choosing
Cabinet as New Party
Was Made Up From Men
of Every Political Opinion.

No President of our country was ever presented with a more perplexing problem than was Mr. Lincoln in choosing the members of his official family. The Republican party was a new party, born of a great moral issue, the suppression of slavery in the first great republic organized on this good earth, the corner stone of which republic was that all men were created free and equal. His party was yet in the early days of its youth. It contained disappointed office seekers, and malcontents from both the dominant Democratic party and the decaying Whig party. It contained practically all of the radical abolitionists of the north, the west and the east. While great numbers of them were seasoned politicians, yet many of these able men chaffed under party discipline and some of them always remained free soil Democrats rather than Republicans.

When we remember that Lincoln carried none of the following border states—Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, West Virginia and even lost the state of Maryland, we realize it made his position doubly serious, and made him most cautious as to his official associates.

Wisdom Appreciated.

In considering his selections, the states from which they came and all the facts surrounding their selection we can appreciate his wise political good sense and patriotism in their choosing. We must not forget in considering their selection, nor lose sight of the fact that by the popular vote he was a minority candidate by more than five hundred thousand votes. Had the opposition been united with but one Democratic ticket in the contest, he would not have been chosen. He had a far greater problem before him than any succeeding President in choosing his official advisors. His task was to select a workable Cabinet made up of Union men of all shades of political opinion, in order that he might keep the border states from joining the rebel forces and keep back of him all the Union forces. His greatest hope was preservation of the Union; if possible without war, but at any



Lincoln and his Cabinet (from painting at the Capitol) left to right; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of Treasury; President Lincoln; Gideon Welles, Secretary of Navy; Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of Interior; Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General; Edward Bates, Attorney General; and William H. Seward, Secretary of State, sitting in front of

table to save the Union as it stand, he closed with this beautiful place in the United States Senate was.

He had before the Chicago conven-countrymen to stand fast and com- his defeat in Chicago by the un- tion, which nominated him, demand-mit no rash deed. To the rebellious known Lincoln, who had little fol- lowing in the East, regardless of ed that Judge Davis, Richard Ogels-Southland he said: "In your hands, my dissatisfied his debate with Douglas, until after at a conference held in Springfield, fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, his greater address, the Cooper Ill., a few days before the conven-is the momentous issue of Civil Union speech. Seward hesitated to tion convened in Chicago, that under War. The government will not as-accept the chief seat in his Cabinet no circumstances were any agree- sail you. You can have no conflict and it was only at the insistence of ments to be made, binding him to without being yourselves the aggres-his followers in New York state that the selection of any one to an office sors. You have no oath registered he did finally accept and rendered in his administration on account of in heaven to destroy the govern-his country great service in the time support given him in securing the nomination. We will see later on how well his wishes were concurred in. A man of less prophetic vision are not enemies, but friends, though followers, but to the rank and file and patriotism might have fallen passion may have strained, it must of the new party. He was the best down completely.

No Personal Friends Chosen. The mystic cords of memory, was a lawyer of rare ability and one stretching from every battle field and of the country's most polished and forceful public speakers. He was a mature deliberation and many con-patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this land, man of splendid appearance, pol- fferences with his closest advisors, as will yet swell the chorus of theished by contact with the elite of well as union men of all shades of Union, when again they are touched, the land and by foreign travel, political affiliation, were not whatas surely they will be, by the better Though he was denied the place he any of them would have made. angels of our nature." Neither were they men he would have preferred to have selected. He forgot his own personal preferment, His Cabinet was not finally chosen so far that not a single personal friend was among them as finally transmitted to the Senate for its ap-

Others More Difficult to Choose. friend was among them as finally for the inaugural. He had no trouble The other members of Lincoln's in deciding whom to choose for the Cabinet were not so easily decided so much desired, he was destined to have his name linked with that of Lincoln as long as our nation endures.

To an old home friend who re-premier position of secretary of state upon as that of Seward. Though monstrated with him for some of his state. Soon after election he offered Lincoln had insisted from the outset choices, he said his sole desire was this position to his chief competitor, Wilthat his campaign managers should to save the Union, and whatever else for the presidential nomination, Wilthat his campaign managers should might be said about his selections Liam H. Seward of New York. Seward made no promise to anyone of an none could doubt their devotion toard was a statesman of rare attain-office or place, he demanded that he the country and that was the majorment. He had been twice elected tbe saved all this embarrassment, but test he applied in considering thet the governorship of New York andas is often the case his friends were fitness for their respective positions. served with distinction. He was so anxious to win and needed an in-

In his inaugural address which writer of merit, one of the grea-creasing number of votes on the sec- was so lofty, plain and simple in lawyers of his time, and in abilityond ballot that they forgot Lincoln's language that the most lowly citizen he ranked with Webster and Caladmonition and did make promises of the country might easily under-houn. Mr. Seward was safe in hihat caused the President no end of annoyance. One promise in particu-

lar that he very much disliked was as to the appointment of Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania as Secretary of War. Lincoln did not doubt the ability of Mr. Cameron, as he had a long and honorable record in his state. In 1845 he had succeeded James Buchanan in the United States Senate as a Democrat, but in the election of 1856 he had supported Gen. Fremont, the Republican candidate, for President and was at that time a Republican. He was backed solidly by his state for a position in the Cabinet.

His state was for him at Chicago, but at the same time was the first state to make a decided break for Lincoln on the second ballot; not only were they for Gen. Cameron, but they were intensely against Seward, as they were fearful he could not carry Pennsylvania in the final election, because of his militant stand against slavery, so Lincoln carried out the promise made and gave the portfolio to Cameron. He only held this important post a few months when he resigned and was made minister to Russia, which post he filled with distinction and made a lasting friend of that country, who proved their friendship later when war was threatened with England, which was only avoided by the good sense of Mr. Lincoln. He negotiated a treaty with Russia which gave our country the opportunity to purchase Alaska at a fraction of its value.

Appoints Hoosier.

The appointment of Calib C. Smith of Indiana as secretary of the interior was taken for granted as it was generally conceded that Indiana would have a place in Lincoln's official family. Smith had campaigned in his former home state for Henry Clay, his political idol, and in other campaigns had made many speeches in the Hoosier state. Furthermore, Indiana was the only state outside of Illinois that gave its entire vote to Lincoln on the first and all other ballots. Mr. Smith was a man of ability and distinction and filled his post with fidelity and ability. He was a lawyer of splendid attainments and after two years retired to accept a Federal judgeship, a position much more to his liking than the routine work of the Interior Department.

The selection of Gideon Wells of Connecticut, as secretary of the navy, was a wise one. This appointment was made at the request of Hanibal Hamlin the Vice-President, Mr. Lincoln having asked him to suggest someone for this important assignment. Secretary Wells was a former Democrat, and a staunch supporter of Andrew Jackson, but left his party on the slavery question and was a supporter of the Republican party through his paper, the Hartford Times, one of the strongest papers of New England, which he so ably edited.

Many Things in Common.

Mr. Lincoln wanted an Eastern man for this important position. Lincoln and Mr. Wells were perhaps more congenial than any other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Wells was a lawyer of ability, finely educated and a capable editor. He knew politics from the ground up, so that he and Mr. Lincoln had many things in common.

For the important position of secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Lincoln was some time deciding. His appointment of Governor Salmon P. Chase of Ohio was a splendid one. Mr. Chase was a New Englander by birth and early training, transplanted to the fertile political soil of Ohio, where he rapidly rose in position as one of the outstanding lawyers of ability and was the leader of the Union forces in his state. Governor Chase was a man of undisputed ability. He very much coveted the

place as secretary of state, which had already been offered to Seward and this fact made it hard to place Chase with a lower ranking position. Mr. Lincoln, in December had invited Gov. Chase to visit him in his Springfield home. He came and they spent two days together. Lincoln was not ready at that time to offer him a place in his Cabinet, but did ask him if later on he decided to ask him would he be in a position to accept and intimated it would be the Treasury secretaryship, if any. He felt he could not even at this time tie his own hand by a positive offer in consideration of the acute situation in Washington and throughout the country. Fearing that something might arise that would change his program he did not at any time

underestimate the qualifications of Governor Chase for the position that he expected to and did finally offer him. He listened to every one, sought the advice of all, but always made his own decisions. Outside of Seward no member of his Cabinet was advised of his selection until a few days before the inauguration.

Appoints Former Democrat.

Montgomery Blair of Maryland, was selected as postmaster general. He had been a prominent Democrat. It was not until March 3 that Mr. Lincoln decided to appoint Blair as a member of his official family. Many of his advisers insisted that he put Henry Winter Davis of Maryland in the Cabinet; Davis was a young man of brilliant mind, one of the leading Whigs of the East and South. The contest for this particular member of the official family was more hotly waged than any other Cabinet position, and involved a personal contest between Seward and Governor Chase, who often clashed. It became so warm that Seward wrote Mr. Lincoln that he preferred to withdraw his acceptance as secretary of state. Mr. Lincoln without imploring Seward to not decline to serve, wrote him a most kindly, tactful note, putting the question on the high plane of duty to the country in time of its greatest

peril. His ruffled feathers were smoothed and Mr. Lincoln's position was sustained, so that when the personnel of the Cabinet was finally reported to the Senate for confirmation it contained the name of Mr. Seward and was made up of four former Democrats and three former Whigs.

Edward Bates, attorney general, was one of the most prominent members of the Whig party in Missouri. He was permanent chairman of the Whig convention in 1856 and was a contender for the presidential nomination at the Republican convention in Chicago, in which Lincoln was nominated. Judge Bates was well fitted for a place in the Lincoln Cabinet. He was from a border state, was a free soiler and a Virginian by birth and education. At the age of 21 he migrated to St. Louis and entered the practice of law, and rapidly rose to an eminent position in his chosen profession.

Rose to Leadership.

In that growing city in the fast growing state he had taken strong ground against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and had through the rapid changing of events become a Republican and soon rose to the leadership of the new party in his state. He was a man of great merit, rare ability and was a distinct gain in the make-up of the Lincoln Cabinet. As attorney general he rendered most efficient service. His whole attitude toward the slavery question ran in parallel lines with the thought and purpose of that of Lincoln. He was not personally ambitious and never took part in any petty squabbles in the official family that so harassed and burdened the patient Lincoln in the months that were to follow close after the first meeting of the Cabinet after the inauguration.

Changes were made from time to time and the Cabinet was strengthened thereby until finally Edwin M. Stanton of Pennsylvania, the man who had snubbed Lincoln in an important lawsuit a few years previous, became the secretary of war. He was a splendid secretary, was a man of transcendent executive ability, was an organizer and of untiring industry, but the only reason for his being remembered in the history of his times was not that he capably filled his important position, but from the fact that his name was linked closely in the annals of the great war with that of the country lawyer whom he had refused to consider as co-council in a prominent case tried in Cincinnati a few years before; and though he belittled Lincoln for years, caused him no end of trouble by his ever thinking he was in every way superior to his chief, yet he finally came to understand, appreciate and acknowledge the greatness of Lincoln's mind and heart, his inflexible will, his broad charity and unselfishness, so that when his superior and leader was stricken in death, with prophetic vision he declared, "He now belongs to the ages."

LINCOLN LORE

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Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor,
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CABINET BUILDING IN 1861

It is doubtful if there has ever been more speculation as to who would be given portfolios in a president's cabinet than was evident upon Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency. Within twenty-four hours after the votes had been counted, Lincoln had selected in his own mind the seven men he would prefer to have associated with him in the management of government affairs and with one or two exceptions, these were the men finally appointed. The diplomacy he used, however, in keeping these names to himself until they were proposed by others caused much guessing as to the final selections.

The leading newspapers of the country were soon busy in assisting Lincoln to build his cabinet and their prospective lists included most of the outstanding political leaders in the country who were at all in sympathy with the new administration.

The Chicago correspondent of the New York Herald, supposed to have inside information about the selections, named: Colfax of Indiana; Bates of Missouri; Judd or Ogden of Illinois; Shenck, Corwin, or Piatt, all of Ohio; Stephens of Georgia; Stevens of Pennsylvania and Ashmun of Massachusetts. The correspondent further advised that "Seward would not be offered a post." Out of a total ten guesses he picked one.

The very day after Abraham Lincoln received assurance that he had been elected President of the United States, he wrote to Vice-President-Elect Hamlin, with respect to a conference at which time they might talk over the building of a cabinet, along with other important matters which would need attention.

Seward

On December 8, Lincoln enclosed in a letter to Hamlin some notes to Governor Seward, which he asked Hamlin to read and forward if he had no reason to withhold them. One was a formal invitation for Seward to take charge of the State Department; the other an informal note in which Lincoln stated, "It has been my purpose from the day of nomination at Chicago to assign you, by your leave, this place in the administration." It therefore appears that Lincoln's most outstanding rival at the Chicago Convention was probably Lincoln's first choice as a cabinet member.

Seward took three weeks to consider the invitation to become a member of the official family, which greatly retarded Lincoln's approach to the other prospective cabinet members, but he finally accepted the portfolio of Secretary of State on December 28. That the appointment of Seward was not entirely satisfactory, even in his own state, is evident from the following letter which Lincoln wrote to Lyman Trumbull in reply to a remonstrance: "Yours of the 2nd is received. I regret exceedingly the anxiety of our friends in New York, of whom you write; but it seems to me the sentiment in that state which sent a united delegation to Chicago in favor of Gov. Seward ought not and must not be snubbed, as it would be, by the omission to offer Gov. S. a place in the Cabinet."

Cameron

With the acceptance of Seward the next problem which called for solution was the Simon Cameron appointment and evidently Lincoln immediately telegraphed Cameron to come to Springfield as he was there on December 31, just three days after Seward replied. When Cameron left Springfield he carried with him a letter which stated: "I think fit to notify you now that by your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the United States Senate for confirmation as Secretary of the Treasury, or as Secretary of War—which of the two I have not yet definitely decided. Please answer at your earliest convenience."

Unbeknown to Lincoln, and without his authority, evidently some agreement had been made at the Chicago Convention between the friends of Lincoln and the friends of Cameron that, in case Lincoln should secure the nomination, Cameron should have a place in the cabinet. One cannot imagine the volume and severity of criticism heaped upon Lincoln for this appointment. It was not until weeks later, however, that the question was permanently settled with Cameron being given the office of Secretary of War.

Chase

On the very day Cameron had visited Springfield, December 31, Lincoln also wrote a brief note to Chase, which reveals the urgency with which Lincoln was pursuing his task: "In these troublous times I would much like a conference with you. Please visit me here at once." Four days later Chase arrived in Springfield. It is apparent that it took much explaining on Lincoln's part to account for the long interval which had elapsed between the election and the letter urging a conference. Only a frank explanation by Lincoln of the dilatory reply from Seward reconciled Chase. After Mr. Lincoln had assured Chase that had Seward declined the post as Secretary of State, he had him in mind for the office, was Chase willing to consider the appointment as Secretary of the Treasury. Notwithstanding the fact that Lincoln had complained to Chase about Seward taking so long to make a decision, Chase also took plenty of time to think it over, so that it was several weeks before his confirmation as Secretary of the Treasury was available.

Bates

The first personal conference which Lincoln had with a prospective Cabinet member after his election was with Edward Bates on December 15. Three days later Lincoln wrote to Bates asking him to let the following editorial appear in the *Missouri Democrat*: "We have permission of both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Bates to say that the latter will be offered, and will accept, a place in the new cabinet, subject of course, to the action of the Senate. It is not yet definitely settled which department will be assigned to Mr. Bates." There seemed to be general satisfaction over Bates' appointment and inasmuch as the portfolio he was to receive was not specifically designated, it served as an excellent foundation for Lincoln's Cabinet building.

Smith

It would appear that Lincoln was not very anxious to pay the obligations which his friends had made, without his permission at Chicago and so it required some pressure to be brought by the friends of Caleb B. Smith before the office of the Secretary of the Interior was offered to him. Another fact which made Lincoln hesitate to make the appointment was the eligibility of Schuyler Colfax, also a Hoosier. Although on January 27, Lincoln made known his desire for "the utmost privacy" during the interval before leaving for Washington, he was besieged by delegations from Indiana urging Smith's appointment to the Cabinet and it was finally done.

Blair

On December 18, 1860, Montgomery Blair wrote to Lincoln with reference to publishing a public letter. Lincoln had already been in correspondence with J. A. Gilmer about the same matter and neither Blair nor Gilmer, whose minds seemed to be reacting towards Lincoln's policy in the same manner, knew that a choice between them would be made for a cabinet portfolio. Seward was not in favor of Blair but Gilmer did not respond enthusiastically when he was offered a cabinet position so it finally was offered to Blair.

BIGGER MEN WANTED

Lincoln Wanted Seven of Them for

His Cabinet

When I was a boy I used to sit in Abraham Lincoln's office and listen to him talk to his cabinet members. He was a great man, but he had a very small cabinet.

Abraham Lincoln said of Salmon Portland Chase, Secretary of the Treasury for three years and afterwards Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court--both by Lincoln's appointment:

"He is one and one-half times bigger than any other man I ever knew."

And thereby hangs a story on the matter of "bigness" told by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (the elder) and retold by Henry L. Stoddard, veteran journalist, in his reminiscences, "It Costs to be President." Lodge got it personally from John Bunn who, as a young man, studied in Lincoln's law office.

Chase had called there to accept appointment as Secretary of the Treasury and to discuss the situation generally. Young Bunn had been in and out of the office all the afternoon while the conference was on. Evidently he had heard much of it.

Next day, John, who was always free with his opinion, said: "Mr. Lincoln, I don't like Mr. Chase."

"Don't like him?" asked Lincoln. "Why, he is one of the most distinguished men in the country!"

"I know that," replied young Bunn. "The trouble with him is, he thinks he is a bigger man than you are."

Lincoln laughed and then said: "John, if you will find me seven bigger men than I am, I will put them all in my Cabinet." 7/13/39

In all the collections that come to our office a few such items, as described above, are to be found. We list them occasionally, as we believe them to be an integral part of the life and customs of decades gone by. The manners and customs of a generation represent its thoughts, and how often such customs, now outworn, have brought about great upheavals. Taxation without representation led to the Revolution, and slavery played an important part in bringing about the Civil War. These old documents permit a wonderful opportunity for the study of other days. We recommend it to the attention of our readers.

! ! !

In featuring the Benedict Arnold letter in the February COLLECTOR, a rather startling fact occurred to us, which had not particularly come to our attention until after the article had gone to press. It was the name given to the Corps commanded by Arnold after he had deserted to the British. It consisted for the most part of Tories, or as the Colonists would probably have called them—traitors to the cause of Liberty. That Arnold was a traitor is unfortunately incontestable. Personally we believe the word too strong for those serving under him. Nevertheless they could hardly be called patriots. It seems somewhat strange that today that body of respected men, veterans of the foreign wars, should of all names, have been given the identical same one—the American Legion—as that which Arnold led and with which he did considerable damage and harm to sections of his native land and to its inhabitants.

APPRAISALS

It has never been our custom to advertise the fact that we make appraisals of autographs for estates, as it was taken for granted that it would be known that such a service was naturally available through us. As some persons have been in doubt about this matter, we are glad to announce officially at this time that we shall be happy to appraise any and all collections of autographs, be they small or large. Our rate of charge is two per

cent of the value appraised, with a small minimum charge.

CABINET OFFICERS

We have frequently remarked in the past about the popularity of forming sets of the Presidents and their cabinets. Some years ago we started printing an alphabetical list of the various members, arranged after considerable trouble and effort on our part. Such a list to the best of our knowledge has never been printed before outside of the COLLECTOR's pages, although the World Almanac carries an excellent chronological list of the names under the Department Headings. For our own use in the office we found the alphabetically arranged list more helpful, and believing that it may also serve as an aid to those forming such sets, we shall run the complete roster of names, starting with this issue.

Listing the names in columns, we found was an expensive proposition, so we try a simpler method. In the arrangement below, the names are given first then the state of origin, the term of office, the office held, and finally by whom the man was appointed to office.

- ADAMS, Charles F.; Mass.; 1931-1935; Navy; Hoover.
- ADAMS, John Q.; Mass.; 1817-1825; State; Monroe.
- AKERMAN, Amos T.; Ga.; 1870; Atty.-Gen.; Grant.
- ALEXANDER, Joshua W.; Mo.; 1919-1921; Commerce; Wilson.
- ALGER, Russell A.; Mich.; 1897-1899; War; McKinley.
- ARMSTRONG, John; N. Y.; 1813; War; Madison.
- BACON, Robert; N. Y.; 1909; State; T. Roosevelt.
- BADGER, George E.; N. C.; 1841; Navy; W. H. Harrison.
- BAKER, Newton D.; Ohio; 1916-1921; War; Wilson.
- BALLINGER, Richard A.; Wash.; 1909-1911; Interior; Taft.
- BANCROFT, George; Mass.; 1845; Navy; Polk.
- BARBOUR, James; Va.; 1825-1828; War; J. Q. Adams.
- BARRY, William T.; Ky.; 1829-1835; P. M. G.; Jackson.

BATES, Edward; Mo.; 1861-1864; Atty.-Gen.; Lincoln.

BAYARD, Thomas F.; Del.; 1885-1889; War; Cleveland.

BELKNAP, William W.; Iowa; 1869-1876; War; Grant.

BELL, John; Tenn.; 1841; War; W. H. Harrison.

BERRIEN, John McP.; Ga.; 1829-1831; Atty.-Gen.; Jackson.

BIBB, George M.; Ky.; 1844; Treas.; Tyler.

BISSELL, Wilson S.; N. Y.; 1893-1895; P. M. G.; Cleveland.

BLACK, Jeremiah S.; Penna.; 1857-1860; Atty.-Gen.; Buchanan.

BLAINE, James G.; Me.; 1881; State; Garfield.

BLAIR, Montgomery; Md.; 1861-1864; P. M. G.; Lincoln.

BLISS, Cornelius N.; N. Y.; 1897; Interior; McKinley.

BONAPARTE, Charles J.; Md.; 1905; Navy; T. Roosevelt.

BORIE, Adolph E.; Penna.; 1869; Navy; Grant.

BOUTWELL, George S.; Mass.; 1869-1873; Treas.; Grant.

BRADFORD, William, Jr.; Penna.; 1794; Atty.-Gen.; Washington.

BRANCH, John; N. C.; 1829-1831; Navy; Jackson.

BRECKINRIDGE, John; Ky.; 1805-1807; Atty.-Gen.; Jefferson.

BREWSTER, Benjamin H.; Penna.; 1881-1885; Atty.-Gen.; Arthur.

BRISTOW, Benjamin H.; Ky.; 1874-1876; Treas.; Grant.

BROWN, Aaron V.; Tenn.; 1857-1859; P.M.G.; Buchanan.

BROWN, Walter F.; Ohio; 1931-1935; P.M.G.; Hoover.

BROWNING, Orville H.; Ill.; 1866-1869; Interior; Johnson.

BRYAN, William J.; Neb.; 1913-1915; State; Wilson.

BUCHANAN, James; Penna.; 1845-1847; State; Polk.

BURLESON, Albert S.; Tex.; 1913-1921; P.M. G.; Wilson.

BUTLER, Benjamin F.; N. Y.; 1833-1837; Atty.-Gen.; Jackson.

1837; War; Jackson.

1837; Atty.-Gen.; Van Buren.

CALHOUN, John C.; S. C.; 1817-1825; War; Monroe.

1844; State; Tyler.

CAMERON, James Don; Penna.; 1876; War; Grant.

CAMERON, Simon; Penna.; 1861; War; Lincoln.

CAMPBELL, George W.; Tenn.; 1814; Treas.; Madison.

CAMPBELL, James; Penna.; 1853-1857; P.M. G.; Pierce.

CARLISLE, John G.; Ky.; 1893-1897; Treas.; Cleveland.

CASS, Lewis; Mich.; 1831-1837; War; Jackson.

1857-1860; State; Buchanan.

CHANDLER, William E.; N. H.; 1882-1885; Navy; Arthur.

CHANDLER, Zachariah; Mich.; 1875-1877; Interior; Grant.

CHAPIN, Roy D.; Mich.; 1933; Commerce; Hoover.

CHASE, Salmon P.; Ohio; 1861-1864; Treas.; Lincoln.

CLAY, Henry; Ky.; 1825-1829; State; J. Q. Adams.

CLAYTON, John M.; Del.; 1849; State; Taylor.

CLIFFORD, Nathan; Me.; 1846-1848; Atty.-Gen.; Polk.

COBB, Howell; Ga.; 1857-1860; Treas.; Buchanan.

COLBY, Bainbridge; N. Y.; 1920; State; Wilson.

COLLAMER, Jacob; Vt.; 1849; P.M.G.; Taylor.

COLMAN, Norman J.; Mo.; 1889; Agriculture; Cleveland.

CONRAD, Charles M.; La.; 1850-1853; War; Fillmore.

CORTELYOU, George B.; N. Y.; 1903; Commerce and Labor; T. Roosevelt.

1905-1907; P.M.G.; T. Roosevelt.

1907-1909; Treas.; T. Roosevelt.

CORWIN, Thomas; Ohio; 1850-1953; Treas.; Fillmore.

COX, Jacob D.; Ohio; 1869; Interior; Grant.

CRAWFORD, George W.; Ga.; 1849; War; Taylor.

CRAWFORD, William H.; Ga.; 1815-1817; War; Madison.

1816; Treas.; Madison.

1817-1825; Treas.; Monroe.

CRESWELL, John A. J.; Md.; 1869-1874; P.M. G.; Grant.

CRITTENDEN; John J.; Ky.; 1841; Atty.-Gen.; W. H. Harrison.

1841; Atty.-Gen.; Tyler.

1850-1853; Atty.-Gen.; Fillmore.

CROWNINSIELD, B. W.; Mass.; 1814-1817; Navy; Madison.

CROWNINSIELD, Jacob; Mass.; 1805; Navy; Jefferson (Died before his term began.)

CUMMINGS, Homer S.; Conn.; 1933-1939; Atty.-Gen.; F. D. Roosevelt.

CUSHING, Caleb; Mass.; 1853-1857; Atty.-Gen.; Pierce.

DALLAS, Alexander J.; Penna.; 1814-1816; Treas.; Madison.

DANIELS, Josephus; N. C.; 1913-1921; Navy; Wilson.

DAUGHERTY, Harry M.; Ohio; 1921-1923; Atty.-Gen.; Harding.

1923; Atty.-Gen.; Coolidge.

DAVIS, Dwight F.; Mo.; 1925-1929; War; Coolidge.

ever, and with them, too, I spent a pleasant hour.

Noon found me at the hotel, where I met Mrs. Hornor and we started off for other parts. We planned to visit Mt. Vernon and see Mr. C. C. Wall, Superintendent of that beautiful shrine. He was busy when we arrived, but once more I went through that inspiring home of the great Washington, quietly paid my respects at his tomb, and then climbed up the hill, thinking deep thoughts. The view from the front veranda of Mt. Vernon is one of the most superb it has ever been my privilege to see. It is to me like drinking in a breath of clear mountain air after the hot, stuffy, gasoline-filled nights of New York City in the summer time. Standing on that spot one imbibes strength to carry on and confidence in oneself, one's people, and one's country.

In time Mr. Wall found us and, after a hurried visit with him, we were obliged to tear ourselves away, as Williamsburg was our destination by nightfall. I will not mention the speed at which we travelled, but all I need say is that Mrs. Hornor is a remarkably fine driver, proof of which is that we reached this incredible spot in time to have a delicious Southern meal at the Travis House. The quaint Colonial uniforms of the darky waiters gave us an inkling of the charm and pleasure which lay in store for us, starting with the next day.

I left Mrs. Hornor at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Swem, where she was staying during our visit to Williamsburg, and I, myself, having been unable to make satisfactory arrangements at the Lodge or Inn found myself excellent quarters at a small house nearby, called the Selby. Of my visit in Williamsburg, and the rest of the trip, I shall say more in the next issue of THE COLLECTOR.

—M. A. B.—

OYEZ! OYEZ!

In days of yore as today, no keeper of an inn or tavern could "retail strong liquors" without a special license permitting him to do so. Some of these old documents, dating around the 1780's and 1790's, and signed by James Duane and Richard Varick, both

Mayors of New York and distinguished in other lines as well, suggested an idea to us.

It is not unusual in modern houses, not to speak of remodeled older ones, to find somewhere in a convenient spot a little nook entitled "The Bar." Occasionally it is hidden behind revolving panels, behind a closet door. Sometimes it is in full view. However situated, it is the private domain of the Master of the House, the appurtenances of which and the contents to be handled and mixed, respectively, solely by him. The thought occurred to us that one of these tavern licenses, with its quaint wording, would not be out of place, if neatly framed and hung over or near "The Bar."

The conditions of "Recognizance" were such "*That if the said John Doe do not, during the time that he shall keep an Inn or Tavern, keep a disorderly Inn or Tavern, or suffer or permit any Cock-fighting, Gaming or playing with Cards or Dice, or keep any Billiard Table, or other Gaming Table, or Shuffle Board, within the Inn or Tavern by him to be kept, or within any Out-house, Yard or Garden belonging thereto; Then this Recognizance to be void, else to remain in full Force.*" etc.

If any modern "Tavern keeper" desires one of these, he may obtain it from us, guaranteed authentic, signed by Duane or Varick. The Duane licenses are smaller in size, running about 7 1-2 by 6 1-4 inches, and the Varick 12 1-2 by 8 3-4 inches. The price is the same for either one, \$2.50.

CABINET OFFICERS

Last month we began printing the alphabetical list of noted men who served in the Cabinets of the various Presidents of the United States. We continue the list, once more drawing attention to the fact that first the names are given, then the State of origin, the term of office, the office held, and finally by whom the man was appointed to office.

- DAVIS, James J.; Penna.; 1921-1923; Labor;
Harding.
1923-1929; Labor; Coolidge.
1929-1930; Labor; Hoover.
- DAVIS, Jefferson; Miss.; 1853-1857; War;
Pierce.
- DAY, William R.; Ohio; 1898; State; McKinley.

DEARBORN, Henry; Mass.; 1801-1809; War; Jefferson.
 DELANO, Columbus; Ohio; 1870-1875; Interior; Grant.
 DENBY, Edwin; Mich.; 1921-1923; Navy; Harding.
 1923; Navy; Coolidge.
 DENNISON, William; Ohio; 1864; P.M.G.; Lincoln.
 1865; P.M.G.; Johnson.
 DEVENS, Charles; Mass.; 1877-1881; Atty.-Gen.; Hayes.
 DERN, George H.; Utah; 1934-1936; War; F. D. Roosevelt.
 DEXTER, Samuel; Mass.; 1800; War; J. Adams.
 1801; Treas.; J. Adams.
 1801; Treas.; Jefferson.
 DICKERSON, Mahlon; N. J.; 1834-1837; Navy; Jackson.
 1837; Navy; Van Buren.
 DICKINSON, Don M.; Mich.; 1888; P.M.G.; Cleveland.
 DICKINSON, Jacob M.; Tenn.; 1909-1911; War; Taft.
 DIX, John A.; N. Y.; 1861; Treas.; Buchanan.
 DOAK, William N.; Va.; 1931-1933; Labor; Hoover.
 DOBBIN, James C.; N. C.; 1853-1857; Navy; Pierce.
 DUANE, William J.; Penna.; 1833; Treas.; Jackson.
 EATON, John H.; Tenn.; 1829-1831; War; Jackson.
 EDISON, Charles; N. J.; 1940; Navy; F. D. Roosevelt.
 ELKINS, Stephen B.; W. Va.; 1891-1893; War; B. Harrison.
 ENDICOTT, William C.; Mass.; 1885-1889; War; Cleveland.
 EUSTIS, William; Mass.; 1809-1813; War; Madison.
 EVARTS, William M.; N. Y.; 1868; Atty.-Gen.; Johnson.
 1877-1881; State; Hayes.
 EVERETT, Edward; Mass.; 1852; State; Fillmore.
 EWING, Thomas; Ohio; 1841; Treas.; W. H. Harrison.
 1841; Treas.; Tyler.
 1849; Interior; Taylor.
 FAIRCHILD, Charles S.; N. Y.; 1887-1889; Treas.; Cleveland.
 FALL, Albert B.; N. M.; 1921-1923; Interior; Harding.
 FARLEY, James A.; N. Y.; 1933-1940; P.M.G.; F. D. Roosevelt.
 FAXON, William; Navy; Lincoln. (Authorities disagree as to whether he was regular or *ad interim*.)
 FESSENDEN, William P.; Me.; 1864; Lincoln.
 FISH, Hamilton; N. Y.; 1869-1877; State; Grant.
 FISHER, Walter L.; Ill.; 1911; Interior; Taft.

FOR SALE

All letters and documents listed below are guaranteed to be originals as they came from the hands of the writers.

For orders of \$1 or less postage will be charged.

1197 McKEAN, Thomas, Penn. Signer of Declaration of Independence. Governor of Penna. Autograph Document Signed, 4to, (Philadelphia). In Conference, June 25, 1776. A remarkable document signed by McKean *nine days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence*. He holds up naval commissions until Independence and a new form of Government should actually be completed deferring action "until the Convention meets." By these words McKean shows that he knows momentous things were apt to happen at the next meeting of the Delegates, as they did. An amazing document of historical interest, reading as follows: ". . . Resolved Unanimously: That it be recommended to the Committee of Safety of this Province to Confine the Command of Commodore Davison to the Ship of War and Floating Battery belonging to the Province, and to issue no Orders to the Captains or other Officers of the Row Galleys, Fire Ships or Fire Rafts, through the said Commodore UNTIL THE CONVENTION MEETS; and that it be recommended to the Captains and other Officers of the Row Gallies, etc., to pay all due Obedience to the Committee of Safety until that time, and until a New Appointment shall take place," etc. Signed by McKean as President of the Continental Congress. Magnificent naval item. Superb 1776 Signer piece. \$100.00

1198 ——. Autograph Letter Signed, folio, Philadelphia, 1783. To Robert H. Harrison, Chief-Justice of Maryland. McKean advises him of the transfer to Maryland of Richard Coleman, a traitor. An unusual and interesting letter, giving details of the case. Rare. \$40.00

1199 ——. Document Signed, broadside, vellum, 1806. Also signed by Timothy Matlack, member of Continental Congress. Handsomely engraved document, with state seal. Very fine. \$7.50

1200 MANSFIELD, Paul. Sculptor. Creator of Prometheus at the Rockefeller Center, N. Y. C. Autograph Letter Signed, 4to, Paris, 1925. Signed "Paul." Friendly note. \$1.50

1201 MEDICAL. Brochure, 24pp, 8vo, entitled *Dr. John Williams' Last Legacy to the People of the United States or the Useful Family Herb Bill*. Printed at Hudson in the early part of the 1800's. Eighty-seven cures are given and include everything from the Kings Evil, Rattles in Children, to stop Puking, to cure a Wen, for

we also draw to the attention of Librarians that at no time in the past has an index been issued to any volume of this magazine.

CABINET OFFICERS

(Continued from November COLLECTOR and giving names of incumbents, States of origin, term of office, office held, and by whom appointed)

PERKINS, Frances; N. Y.; 1933—; Labor; F. D. Roosevelt.

PICKERING, Timothy; Mass.; 1791-1795; P. M. G.; Washington.
1795; War; Washington.
1795-1797; State; Washington.
1797-1800; State; J. Adams.

PIERREPONT, Edwards; N. Y.; 1875-1876; Atty.-Gen.; Grant.

PINCKNEY, William; Md.; 1811-1814; Atty.-Gen.; Madison.

POINSETT, Joel R.; S. C.; 1837-1841; War; Van Buren.

PORTER, James M.; Penna.; 1843-1844; War; Tyler.

PORTER, Peter B.; N. Y.; 1828-1829; War; J. Q. Adams.

PRESTON, William B.; Va.; 1849-1850; Navy; Taylor.

PROCTOR, Redfield; Vt.; 1889-1891; War; B. Harrison.

RAMSEY, Alexander; Minn.; 1879-1881; War; Hayes.

RANDALL, Alexander W.; Wis.; 1866-1869; P. M. G.; Johnson.

RANDOLPH, Edmund; Va.; 1789-1794; Atty.-Gen.; Washington.
1794-1795; State; Washington.

RAWLINS, John A.; Ill.; 1869; War; Grant.

REDFIELD, William C.; N. Y.; 1913-1919; Commerce; Wilson.

RICHARDSON, William; Mass.; 1873-1874; Treas.; Grant.

ROBESON, George M.; N. J.; 1869-1877; Navy; Grant.

RODNEY, Caesar A.; Del.; 1807-1809; Atty.-Gen.; Jefferson.
1809-1811; Atty.-Gen.; Madison.

ROOT, Elihu; N. Y.; 1899-1901; War; McKinley.
1901-1904; War; T. Roosevelt.
1905-1909; State; T. Roosevelt.

ROPER, Daniel C.; S. C.; 1933-1939; Commerce; F. D. Roosevelt.

RUSH, Richard; Penna.; 1814-1817; Atty.-Gen.; Madison.
1817; Atty.-Gen.; Monroe.
1825-1829; Treas.; J. Q. Adams.

RUSK, Jeremiah M.; Wis.; 1889-1893; Agriculture; B. Harrison.

SARGENT, John G.; Vt.; 1925-1929; Atty.-Gen.; Coolidge.

SCHOFIELD, John M.; Ill.; 1868-1869; War; Johnson.

SCHURZ, Carl; Mo.; 1877-1881; Interior; Hayes.

SEWARD, William H.; N. Y.; 1861-1865; State; Lincoln.
1865-1869; State; Johnson.

SHAW, Leslie M.; Iowa; 1902-1907; Treas.; T. Roosevelt.

SHERMAN, John; Ohio; 1877-1881; Treas.; Hayes.
1897-1898; State; McKinley.

SHERMAN, William T.; Ohio; 1869; War; Grant.

SMITH, Caleb B.; Ind.; 1861-1863; Interior; Lincoln.

SMITH, Charles E.; Penna.; 1898-1901; P. M. G.; McKinley.
1901-1902; P. M. G.; T. Roosevelt.

SMITH, Hoke; Ga.; 1893-1896; Interior; Cleveland.

SMITH, Robert; Md.; 1802; Navy; Jefferson.
1802-1809; Navy; Madison.
1809-1811; State; Madison.

SMITH, Samuel; Md.; 1801; Navy; Jefferson.
(Without appointment).

SOUTHARD, Samuel L.; N. J.; 1823-1825; Navy; Monroe.
1825-1829; Navy; J. Q. Adams.

SPEED, James; Ky.; 1864-1865; Atty.-Gen.; Lincoln.
1865-1866; Atty.-Gen.; Johnson.

SPENCER, John C.; N. Y.; 1841-1843; War; Tyler.
1843-1844; Treas.; Tyler.

STANBERY, Henry; Ohio; 1866-1868; Atty.-Gen.; Johnson.

STANTON, Edwin M.; Penna.; 1860-1861; Atty.-Gen.; Buchanan.
1862-1865; War; Lincoln.
1865-1867; War; Johnson.

STIMSON, Henry L.; N. Y.; 1911-1913; War; Taft.
1929-1933; State; Hoover.
1940—; War; F. D. Roosevelt.

STODDERT, Benjamin; Md.; 1798-1801; Navy; J. Adams.
1801-1802; Navy; Jefferson.

STONE, Harlan F.; N. Y.; 1924-1925; Atty.-Gen.; Coolidge.

STRAUS, Oscar S.; N. Y.; 1906-1909; Commerce and Labor; T. Roosevelt.

STUART, Alexander H. H.; Va.; 1850-1853; Interior; Fillmore.

SWANSON, Claude A.; Va.; 1933-1940; Navy; F. D. Roosevelt.

TAFT, Alphonso; Ohio; 1876; War; Grant.
1876; Atty.-Gen.; Grant.

TAFT, William Howard; Ohio; 1904-1908; War; T. Roosevelt.

item, only two and three quarter by five inches in size, but to us it seems particularly noteworthy and significant. It is Lottery Ticket No. 210 in the Mountain Road Lottery of 1768, signed with Spencerian care by none other than George Washington, the Father of our Country. Little more need be said. The price is \$100.

Still another utterly delightful find in our files is drawn to the special attention of fishermen and hunters. If neatly matted and framed and hung in a private study or den, the Editor challenges anyone to read it without a smile. It is a quarto sized autograph letter signed of Frederic Remington, the great painter of Western and Indian scenes, dated New Rochelle, N. Y., Apr. 15, 1892, and bearing on the lower part of the sheet two very funny drawings. The one shows a startled hunter, "in the field," dropping his gun as, after a long vigil, a bird finally heaves into sight. The other drawing depicts the same hunter, "at the club," seated in front of his various cups and wine glasses, telling dramatically of his remarkable exploits (?). The letter reads:

April 15, 1892.

My dear George,

Your kind invitation to the Aldine to hear a superb collection of liars tell about how old the trail was when they struck it, is here. I had one invitation sent me by the Club, but since you are going to be there, I may go, as I know you to be no better liar than I am.

Yours truly,

FREDERIC REMINGTON.

For this very appropriate and delightful item the price is \$40.

A high spot in our stock and of exceptional rarity is a lengthy hand-written letter, 2pp, folio, dated from Boston, Dec. 20, 1809, of none other than Paul Revere, forever immortalized in Longfellow's famous poem. Revere's autograph is sometimes met with on bills and other commercial documents and occasionally on masonic papers, but even in that form it is rare. Full autograph letters by him are a very extraordinary occur-

rence. The letter in question is of unusual interest in that it is addressed to Revere's brother Joseph, who was at that time in Europe. The famous silversmith writes regarding the purchase of copper, its price, etc., and mentions the French branch of the Revere family, requesting his brother to make inquiry on the subject of his father's relations in France. Part of the family history given by Revere reads as follows: "*Isaac Rivoire, another of the Children of said John Rivoire, married in 1697 Serena Lambert. He had several children, among others Appollos Rivoire (father of Paul Revere), who was born in 1702. He was Baptized at Riaucaud, which I take to be a small Town near St. Foy about 20 miles from Bourdeaux. The above was translation taken from the Register at Riaucaud, and was sent me by Mathias Rivoire, a Councelor at Law in the year 1777,*" etc.

This letter is of particular importance in view of the fact that at various times different countries have tried to claim Revere as their own, stating that his family name had originally been spelled this way or that, changing it to sound very strange indeed. In his own handwriting, it is now proved irrefutably that he was of French origin. \$300 is a small price for so fine an item of historical interest. It is neatly protected by cellophane in a specially made folder, and with it is a handsome steel engraving of Revere himself.

Our stock can only be compared to the Thousand and One Nights of Scheherazade. We have that many and more choice letters and documents in our files, running in price from the above down to \$1. It is impossible to list more than a fraction of them. May we suggest, therefore, that those who think a good letter, always distinctive and unique, a suitable gift will write to us and consult us. We feel sure we shall be able to make suggestions that will fit all purses.

TITLE PAGES

Title pages to Volumes 52, 53, 54 and 55 of THE COLLECTOR are now ready. May we ask that those desiring them will write in and notify us. There is no charge. May

wound his way into the affections of a man whose one great defect was his credulous trust in men about him. We waste ourselves and time in striving to fit motives to the good and bad acts of men. As we know ourselves to be creatures of impulse under circumstances over which we have no control, there seems to be little sense in searching for that in others of which we are devoid. James A. Garfield was a man of intensely selfish nature, morally without courage, of an impulsive nature, uncontrolled by principle, with a continuous trend in the direction of wrong. Given these qualities and we can understand how it was that in the solitude of his tent he set about undermining and destroying the man who leaned upon him as a brother. He saw and heard hour after hour, day after day, the anxiety of his chief upon whose shoulders had been placed the responsibility that held not only the lives of thousands but the life of the great republic. And yet, without a scruple of conscience, without a care as to the consequences, he began sapping in the dark the foundations from under his friend and chief.

(to be continued)

CABINET OFFICERS

(Continued from December COLLECTOR and giving names of incumbents, States of origin, term of office, office held, and by whom appointed)

TANEY, Roger B.; Md.; 1831-1833; Atty.-Gen.; Jackson.
1833-1834; Treas.; Jackson.
TELLER, Henry M.; Colo.; 1882-1885; Interior; Arthur.
THOMAS, Philip F.; Md.; 1860-1861; Treas.; Buchanan.
THOMPSON, Jacob; Miss.; 1857-1861; Interior; Buchanan.
THOMPSON, Richard W.; Ind.; 1877-1881; Navy; Hayes.
THOMPSON, Smith; N. Y.; 1818-1823; Navy; Monroe.
TOUCEY, Isaac; Conn.; 1848-1849; Atty.-Gen.; Polk.
1857-1861; Navy; Buchanan.
TRACY, Benjamin F.; N. Y.; 1889-1893; Navy; B. Harrison.
TYNER, James N.; Ind.; 1876-1877; P. M. G.; Grant.

UPSHUR, Abel P.; Va.; 1841-1843; Navy; Tyler.
1843-1844; State; Tyler.
USHER, John P.; Ind.; 1863-1865; Interior; Lincoln.
1865; Interior; Johnson.

VAN BUREN, Martin; N. Y.; 1829-1831; State; Jackson.

VILAS, William F.; Wis.; 1885-1888; P. M. G.; Cleveland.
1888-1889; Interior; Cleveland.

WALKER, Frank; Penna.; 1940—; P. M. G.; F. D. Roosevelt.
WALKER, Robert J.; Miss.; 1845-1849; Treas.; Polk.
WALLACE, Henry A.; Iowa; 1921-1924; Agriculture; Harding.
WALLACE, Henry A., Jr.; Iowa; 1933-1940; Agriculture; F. D. Roosevelt.
WANAMAKER, John; Penna.; 1889-1893; P. M. G.; B. Harrison.
WASHBURNE, Elihu B.; Ill.; 1869; State; Grant.
WEBSTER, Daniel; Mass.; 1841; State; W. H. Harrison.
1841-1843; State; Tyler.
1850-1852; State; Fillmore.
WEEKS, John W.; Mass.; 1921-1923; War; Harding.
1923-1925; War; Coolidge.
WELLES, Gideon; Conn.; 1861-1865; Navy; Lincoln.
1865-1869; Navy; Johnson.
WEST, Roy O.; Ill.; 1929; Interior; Coolidge.
WHITING, William F.; Mass.; 1929; Commerce; Coolidge.
WHITNEY, William C.; N. Y.; 1885-1889; Navy; Cleveland.
WICKARD, Claude R.; Ind.; 1940—; Agriculture; F. D. Roosevelt.
WICKERSHAM, George W.; N. Y.; 1909-1913; Atty.-Gen.; Taft.
WICKLIFFE, Charles A.; Ky.; 1841-1845; P. M. G.; Tyler.
WILBUR, Curtis D.; Calif.; 1924-1929; Navy; Coolidge.
WILBUR, Ray Lyman; Calif.; 1930-1933; Interior; Hoover.
WILKINS, William; Penna.; 1844-1845; War; Tyler.
WILLIAMS, George H.; Ore.; 1871-1875; Atty.-Gen.; Grant.
WILSON, James; Iowa; 1897-1901; Agriculture; McKinley.
1901-1909; Agriculture; T. Roosevelt.
1909-1913; Agriculture; Wilson.
WILSON, William B.; Penna.; 1913-1921; Labor; Wilson.
WILSON, William L.; W. Va.; 1895-1897; P. M. G.; Cleveland.
WINDOM, William; Minn.; 1881; Treas.; Garfield.
1881; Treas.; Arthur.
1889-1891; Treas.; B. Harrison.
WIRT, William; Va.; 1817-1825; Atty.-Gen.; Monroe.
1825-1829; Atty.-Gen.; J. Q. Adams.
WOLCOTT, Oliver, Jr.; Conn.; 1795-1797; Treas.; Washington.
1797-1801; Treas.; J. Adams.

dorsement but who unfortunately for himself antagonized the hot gospellers.

From General *Buell* the command, not by that time a column of twenty thousand, but a corps of nearly a hundred thousand, went to General Wm. S. Rosecrans.

Twice the command was offered General Thomas but under circumstances his self respect prohibited his accepting. All this time, quite two years of campaigning, through the varying fortunes of the field General Thomas virtually remained in command, for, let his superior officer be whom he might, he leaned on his next in command, so, that with the exception of General Buell, every move might be said to have been that of Thomas. General Rosecrans owed this promotion to the uniform success that evidenced his military ability and partly to a new element that appeared in the political field. When it became necessary to give Buell's command to another, Secretary Stanton selected General Thomas but Chase and Seward were earnest in their appeals, not to Stanton but to the President, to have the position given General Rosecrans. Seward was moved to this for the purpose of conciliating the Catholic element, not only at home but abroad, and Chase, partly from the same motive, but mainly because he had faith in the military genius of Rosecrans. "Let the Virginian wait," said the President to Secretary Stanton, and he ordered the assignment of Rosecrans to the command. It was all quite unfortunate for the General. For some unknown reason Stanton hated him. Now to this intense dislike and want of confidence came the wrath stirred into being by the interference of Chase and Seward in Stanton's department.

Under these unfortunate circumstances General Rosecrans assumed command and on the 28th of December '62 moved out of Nashville to find the enemy and fight him. He placed General McCook in command of his right; General Crittenden over his left wing; and General Thomas in charge of the centre. On the 30th of December he came up with Bragg's army at Murfreesboro or, as it is more generally known, Stone River. Two days desperate fighting left three events for special record. First the right under McCook was surprised at daylight and rolled back on the centre, fetching out the second marked event found in Thomas's changing his front under fire, rescuing nearly one half of the right from destruction and giving us the third, in a victory snatched from the very jaws of defeat.

After this disaster General Bragg fell back to a strong position on Duck River, which he fortified, making that position in confederate estimation, an impregnable work.

Then followed the six months at Murfreesboro, Stone River, stigmatized by the War Department: "Six months of inexcusable inaction." It was claimed that in this delay the enemy was enabled to draw forces from Rosecrans' front and thus reinforce the armies opposed to Grant and Meade. The late publication of official orders, reports and correspondence of the Confederate as well as Union War Department proves this not only untrue

but directly the reverse of the truth. We now learn that Grant having swamped his army of seventy thousand men under the bluffs and in the marshes and *bayous* of the Mississippi before Vicksburg the Confederate authorities withdrew from Pemberton his entire army save just enough men to man the fortification. In the same way troops before the Army of the Potomac were relieved, for both right and left of Rosecrans own forces were idle, and from these sources Bragg was being reinforced.

They who speak of Rosecrans' inaction speak without information. We had three armies in the field and their success turned mainly on transportation not only of troops but of supplies. It will be observed that while the armies on the right and the left had water transportation, the centre was possessed of *but* one line of railroad extending from Louisville on the Ohio to Stone River. As it required one third of the army of the Cumberland to guard that road the army thus depleted, could not move, *while* it became necessary to fortify Murfreesboro and so protect the accumulated supplies before an advance was made.

There was not an hour lost in the so called delay. The occasion was seized on by General Thomas, with the sanction of General Rosecrans to drill and discipline the troops, so that when they did move they moved as veterans, never to know so long as the war continued what a defeat was. Every hour of this delay was rendered humiliating to the General commanding by the treatment he received from Washington. Supplies were reluctantly forwarded and reinforcements positively refused. The correspondence was without sympathy and the orders *were* insults. In that six months of preparation General Rosecrans added to the wrath already lowering to destroy him in the War Department. A Major General's position becoming vacant General Halleck, under orders from Secretary Stanton, issued a circular in which the Commission was offered as a prize for the first General gaining the first victory. All of the officers, wise in their day, received this tendered bribe in silence save General Rosecrans who indignantly threw back the tender as an insult. He was not, he said, fighting for promotion, but for the cause of his country. The anger of a strong man deepened to a white heat at the indignity given him, and the imprudent General had his punishment of official death suspended only through lack of opportunity. This came swiftly and was hurried on by one of those acts of treachery that occur from time to time to impress upon us the possibility of total depravity in human nature.

The same power, represented in the person of Salmon P. Chase, that gave Rosecrans command of the army of the Cumberland called James A. Garfield, later President of the United States, to Rosecrans Head Quarters as Chief of Staff. General Garfield was a soldierly looking man with a genial manner that won the confidence of the unwary. As Chief of Staff he held officially the confidence of his chief—as one who listens with a waiting smile and speaks with an oily tongue, he

LINCOLN LORE

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WAS LINCOLN A DICTATOR?

The fate of Mussolini, first of the present day "power" men to collapse, has raised the question about the status of Abraham Lincoln, who often has been cast in the roll of a dictator by his contemporaries and who still retains that ignominious title in the thinking of some schools of American historians. There may be those who can find parallel situations in which it appears as if Mussolini and Lincoln responded in like manner to like stimuli, but the overwhelming contrasts which characterize these two individuals should minimize any similarity which might unwittingly appear.

It was in ancient Rome, where first a chief magistrate was appointed with dictatorial power to meet a crisis. Mussolini differed from his predecessors in that he attempted to extend the initial emergency indefinitely. Reviewing the regime of the Italian dictator it is evident that these five characteristics—ambition, egotism, jealousy, vengeance, and self-aggrandizement—were dominant in his behavior, and they are usually distinguishing traits in the habits of most men who aspire to imperious authority. Against this background, when we observe the well recognized qualities of Abraham Lincoln, we hesitate to associate him with modern dictators. Possibly we can find in his own words and acts some examples of his reaction toward the characteristics, so clearly evident in the defunct ruler of Italy.

Ambition

Lincoln was ambitious to succeed in whatever he undertook. This much must be granted any man of worth. At the close of the senatorial campaign in 1858 he made a speech at Springfield in which he used these words:

"Ambition has been ascribed to me. God knows how sincerely I prayed from the first that this field of ambition might not be opened." He then admitted that he claimed "no insensibility" to political honors, but qualified his personal ambition by this remarkable affirmation:

"Today could the Missouri restriction be restored, and the whole slavery question be replaced on the old ground of 'toleration' by necessity where it exists, with unyielding hostility to the spread of it, on principle, I would, in consideration, gladly agree, that Judge Douglas should never be out, and I never in, an office, so long as we both or either, live."

Egotism

No one with aspirations to exercise dictorial powers would proceed very far without an exaggerated opinion of himself and in this Mussolini excelled.

If there is one characteristic above all others in the life of Lincoln which has stood out in bold relief, it is his humility. To one who wanted an autobiographical sketch for campaign material, he replied, "There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose that there is not much of me." After he had been nominated for the presidency he commented that his name was "the humblest of all whose names were before the convention." After the 1860 election, upon referring to the great task which had fallen on him, he mentioned he had been raised to his high office "without a name, perhaps without a reason why I should have a name." Surely no one would allow Lincoln to be placed among the egotists.

Jealousy

One of the most noticeable traits of Mussolini was the apparent jealousy he displayed when any of his fellow countrymen gave unusual displays of talent, whereupon, they were quickly removed to obscurity. It is true of all types of dictatorships that actual genius is discredited and replaced by mediocrity, largely because of the dictator's fear of a rival competitor and the possible usurpation of his powers.

Ambitious men were present in Lincoln's cabinet and

those who were his political rivals were appointed to responsible offices. This is sufficient proof that he was free from jealousy. It was Lincoln who remarked with reference to his first ranking military leader, "I will hold McClellan's horse if he will only bring us success."

On the very night of Lincoln's election to the presidency for a second term, he was called upon for a speech. After stating that he was chiefly grateful to the people for the confidence in him, displayed by their votes, he said, "If I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph . . . It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone."

Vengeance

Jealousy and fear often drives dictators to visit vengeance on all who oppose their policies and fail to subscribe to their philosophy. Vengeance is the very life's breath of a dictator. Especially in times of military activity the sword is not spared in mowing down resistance within the state. As early as 1862 it was evident that Lincoln did not intend to introduce the spirit of vengeance into the great war. He wrote, "I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

A rumor was circulated in the South that Lincoln had "a purpose to enslave or exterminate the whites of the South." This would have been the procedure of a dictator of the modern world. Lincoln in a letter to General McClellan referred to the rumor as follows, "I believe you can be my personal witness that no man is less to be dreaded for undue severity in any case."

In his instructions to General Rosecrans with respect to the punishment of certain prisoners, he wrote, "I wish you to do nothing merely for revenge, but that what you may do shall be solely done with reference to the security of the future."

It will be recalled that when Lincoln was asked, while at City Point, by General Sherman what to do about the capture of Jefferson Davis, Lincoln told a story which indicated he would like to see Davis slip out "unbeknownst like." If a dictator had been in the shoes of Lincoln we wonder what Jefferson Davis' life would have been worth. Lincoln in the midst of a great war could truthfully express his feelings in these words. "With malice toward none, with charity for all." This is not the language of a dictator.

Self-Aggrandizement

The great crowds which greeted Lincoln on his way to the inauguration would seem to have been sufficient incentive to stir up any personal ambition which may have been lying dormant in his being, but his reaction was just the reverse. At Cleveland where an enthusiastic reception had been tendered him he remarked, "I would not have you suppose that I think this extreme earnestness is about me. I should be exceedingly sorry to see such devotion if that were the case." At another grand reception he said, "I am unwilling on any occasion that I should be so meanly thought of as to have it supposed for a moment that these demonstrations are tendered to me personally."

At a time when the interests of the government were at low-ebb, Lincoln stated, "I shall be glad to resign my trust at the appointed time to another pilot more skillful and successful than I may prove."

On December 15, 1863 Lincoln wrote a letter to Dr. Thomas Cottman in which he discussed reconstruction measures in Louisiana and offered suggestions for establishing and maintaining the national authority. Then he concluded with this interesting observation. "I go no further than this because I wish to avoid both the substance and the appearance of dictation."

If there is any attitude of mind demonstrated in the behavior of Abraham Lincoln in private, political, or public life that would allow him to be associated with the dictators of the modern day, it has been obscured by the more dominant traits of his character, so free from ambition, egotism, jealousy, revenge and self-aggrandizement.

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LINCOLN'S OFFICIAL FAMILY—BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sometimes the appearance of a new book will call to the attention of the public a considerable number of titles with which it may be classified. Gideon Welles, *Lincoln's Navy Department*, is such a book.

Just outside the pale which separates Lincolniana from a general library is an indefinite number of books called collateral items. A bibliography of this large number of Lincoln reference items has never been attempted, except in Civil War compilations, where many of them properly belong, yet, most of the Civil War items do not fall within the scope of a collateral Lincoln Library, as viewed by the Lincoln collector.

This monograph is the first of a series of *Lincoln Lores* which will present some of the various classifications of collateral Lincolniana. These bibliographies will not stress completeness, so much as they will attempt to name the more valuable contributions for reference purposes.

It would appear as if the books and pamphlets by and about Lincoln's official family, including the cabinet members and vice-presidents of both administrations, should receive first consideration. Possibly there should be mentioned four titles which feature the cabinet members and which are noted in Lincolniana. Dana, C. O.—*Lincoln and His Cabinet*; Green, J. P.—*Lincoln and His Cabinet*; Macartney, C. Z.—*Lincoln and His Cabinet*; Usher, J. P.—*President Lincoln's Cabinet*. Room will not permit the inclusion of many valuable Lincolniana items which refer to individual members of the cabinet or periodicals and manuscripts referring to the cabinet as a whole. Department reports are also exclusive from this compilation.

Biographical sketches of Lincoln's administrative associates should occupy the shelves nearest to those which feature the President himself. The roll of these important characters might be called as follows: Bates, Blair, Cameron, Chase, Dennison, Fessenden, Hamlin, Johnson, McCulloch, Seward, Smith, Speed, Stanton, Usher, and Welles.

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5 Ohioans Figure Largely in "Lincoln's War Cabinet"

By Archer H. Shaw

(Former Chief Editorial Writer,
Plain Dealer)

LINCOLN'S WAR CABINET. By
Burton J. Hendrick. (Little,
Brown & Co., Boston. \$5. 463 pp.)

Books on Abraham Lincoln come off the presses with a frequency suggesting the procession of autos from an assembly line. What new can be found to say about the Emancipator is thus answered often and in a variety of ways. Here are three Lincoln volumes of worth from the current autumn harvest.

Burton J. Hendrick's "Lincoln's War Cabinet" is an outstanding work by a master hand. No aspect of Lincoln's fevered but triumphant administration is more significant of the period or the man than that which concerns the cabinet which the president gathered about him to meet the crisis of secession. It was a group, for the most part, of able men, experienced in politics; of ambitious, jealous men, several of whom let their personal thirst for power stultify the loyalty they owed their chief.

Five Ohio men played parts more or less embarrassing to Lincoln. Two—Chase and Stanton—were in the cabinet; three—Garfield, Wade and Riddle—were in Congress. Chase, former governor and senator, made no effort to soften his offensive attitude of superiority to the man who beat him in the Chicago convention. He plotted interminably, with Stanton and others, to disrupt the cabinet.

Stanton, who had been attorney general in Buchanan's cabinet, had little but contempt for Buchanan's successor whose "painful imbecility"—to use Stanton's own expression—painfully oppressed him. Garfield, then powerful in the House, joined other radicals against Lincoln. Wade, a radical leader in the Senate, himself ambitious for the presidency, was a constant thorn in the president's flesh. Riddle, congressman from the Cleveland district and a partisan of Chase, was one of a committee of two who called on Lincoln in behalf of his obstreperous finance minister.

The convention of anti-Lincoln Republicans in Cleveland in May, 1864, is aptly described by the author as an "assembly of nobodies." It was designed to prevent the renomination of Lincoln by the Baltimore convention in June, but failed ignominiously. Even its nominee, Fremont, soon saw the absurdity of his position and resigned from the ticket. The convention, with all its radical support, proved not a live bomb but a dud.

With the known record of Stanton's contemptuous attitude toward Lincoln, and because of considerations more creditable to a man of Stanton's character, it is difficult to believe what Mr. Hendrick accepts as truth; namely, that this son of Ohio "became a spy on the Buchanan administration in the interests of the approaching Lincoln regime." This suggestion was advanced in later years by Jeremiah S. Black, who served with Stanton in the Buchanan cabinet. The facts seem not to sustain so serious a charge, and reasonable assumptions argue against it.

1947

LINCOLN LORE

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ORIENTING LINCOLN AND THE CABINET

The series of brief biographical sketches of Lincoln's cabinet members brought to a close in Lincoln Lore has invited, as a sequel, an issue that would allow one to visualize the executive community at Washington in Lincoln's day. This orientation of the President and his cabinet can best be accomplished by the aid of a plat which includes the location of the White House and its adjacent structures.

The fact that the area which contains the President's House is in Reservation 1, implies that it was the central unit in the overall plan for the entire capital city project. A natural feature which is immediately called to our attention and which we might assume was responsible for the location of Reservation 1, is Tiber Creek at a point where it empties into the Potomac River.

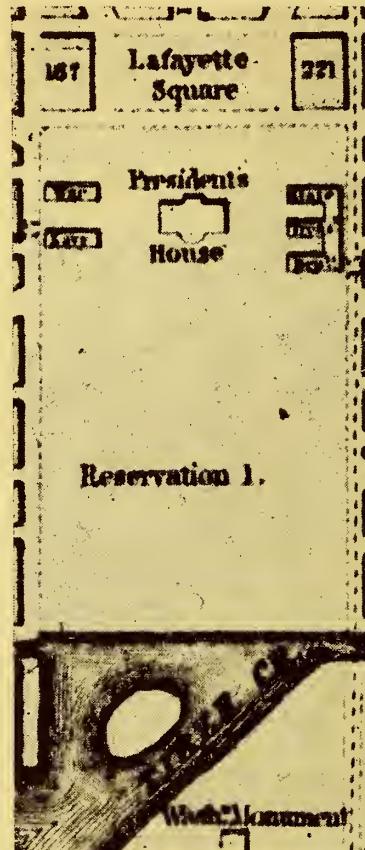
Tradition states that a whole century before the location of Washington this small stream was named Tiber Creek after the famous "Tiber" on the banks of which there was erected the city of ancient Rome. The tradition further states that the name was so chosen because it was very early anticipated that "some day upon its banks would rise a capital greater than Rome."

When the original plans for the city were drawn by Peter Charles L'Enfant, there were seventeen desirable localities set apart for government purposes which were designated as reservations. As has been noted, number one was called "The President's Grounds." Number two embraced the Capitol grounds, number nine was called Judicial Square, and originally set apart for the judicial branch of the government. Thus the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches were all recognized.

If Pennsylvania and New York avenues had been laid out without disturbing their general course they would have intersected each other in the very center of the White House. Connecticut avenue from the North West, Sixteenth Street from the North, and Vermont avenue from the North East, if continued, would have converged at this intersection.

Possibly one of the most interesting descriptions of the Executive Center and its surroundings at the time Lincoln was in Congress was written by a British traveler named Alexander Mackay in reporting his visit to the "Western World." He states:

"In the midst of a large, open square, on a piece of high ground overlooking the Potomac, though about a quarter of a mile back from it, is the Presi-



The President's Grounds

dent's House or the 'White House' as it is more generally called.... Within this square, and forming, as it were, its four angles, are the four departments of State, those of the Treasury, of State, of War, and of the Navy, each of which is approached by the public from one of the four streets which encompass the Executive grounds. To each a private path also leads from the President's house, the chief magistrate sitting, as it were like a spider, in the center of his web, from which he constantly overlooks the occurrences at its extremities."

The various departmental structures on the Executive Square were originally called Executive Buildings and designated by the terms North East, South East, North West, and South West. Later they took on the names of the various Departments, State, Treasury, War, and Navy respectively.

State Department

The State Department which occupied the North East corner set the pattern as far as architectural design

is concerned for the others. It was a two story brick over a freestone basement. It was standing during the Lincoln administration but in 1866 was razed to make room for the new Treasury building.

Treasury Department

The loss of the old Treasury building by fire in 1833, standing south of the Department of State building, and similar to the State Department building, caused a new structure to be erected of freestone three stories high. It had four fronts and in 1866 was enlarged by the acquisition of the State Department site.

War Department

The building occupied by the War Department at the north west corner was of similar architectural design as the State Department building. The Secretary's office was at the east end of the corridor on the second floor. It was to this building which Lincoln most often found his way during the war, because the telegraph office was also located here.

Navy Department

Just south of the War Department building stood the building of the Navy Department, also of brick and very much like the War Department structure. A wing was built on this building in 1864. The Secretary's office was in the south end of the corridor on the second floor.

Attorney General

The office of the Attorney General was located in rented property which stood opposite the Treasury building and occupied the upper floors. As indicated by the location of the building, it was just outside the Executive Square to the east.

Department of the Interior

The Department of the Interior was located in the Patent Office building which stood in the two squares bounded by 7th and 9th Streets and F and G streets. The office of the Secretary of the Interior was in the north east corner of the building in the north corridor.

Post Office

The office of the Postmaster General was located in the General Post Office building. His rooms were on the south side of the south corridor on the floor above the basement. The building was started in 1839 and not completed until 1855. It stood in the square between E and F and 7th and 8th streets and directly east of the White House, eight blocks from the Executive Square.



GET FIRST-HAND HISTORY LESSON: Jennifer Carr, 11 (center), and her sister, Alice, 8, get a practical lesson in history as their mother, Mrs. Arthur J. Carr of 1508 Brooklyn Ave., reads from a 106-year-old letter. The letter to the girls' great-great-great-grandfather, Jacob Brinkerhoff, is from Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury in Abraham Lincoln's cabinet during the Civil War. The letter is one of two bearing the dates of April 7, 1849, and Jan. 20, 1861, written by men who were later members of Lincoln's cabinet.

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Letters From Two Members Of Lincoln's Wartime Cabinet Uncovered In Ann Arbor

Letters from two members of President Lincoln's wartime cabinet were uncovered this week by an Ann Arbor woman, a descendant of a pre-Civil War congressman.

Mrs. Arthur J. Carr of 1508 Brooklyn Ave. came across the letters addressed to her great-great-grandfather, Jacob Brinkerhoff, by Lincoln's fiery secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, and the Civil War president's secretary of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase, while sorting through well-preserved personal letters over 106 years old. Brinkerhoff served as representative from 1843-1847.

Passages from the letters, with a few minor changes, read like political statements of today, Mrs. Carr said. For instance, the boldly scrawled letter from Stanton advised Brinkerhoff, "I do not believe this government can be overthrown—it may be overrun for a brief period but cannot be destroyed."

This was written on Jan. 20, 1861, on the eve of the war between the states.

The letter from Chase was dated April 7, 1849, the year in which the slavery controversy and what was to be the Republican Party, gained momentum, and was

fore, I think the prospect of carrying the proviso in the Senate next winter very fair. Very much, however, will depend on the manifestations of public sentiment during the coming summer and fall. Never was agitation more needed."

Earlier in the letter, Chase refers to "Barnburner Democracy," a party which joined his Liberty Party to form the Free-soilers the year before.

Chase went on to champion the anti-slavery cause in the Senate, establish the National bank system as secretary of the treasury

and become the first Republican governor of Ohio.

Stanton, as war minister, often denounced Lincoln harshly but uncovered war-time frauds in contracting, supplied armies capably, prodded lax generals and discharged soldiers in orderly fashion at the end of the war.

Brinkerhoff, who claimed to be the author of the Wilmot Proviso presented by the senator of that name, returned from Washington to his law practice in Mansfield, O., and later was a State Supreme Court justice. He died in 1882.

in reply to congratulations Brinkhoff had given Chase on the latter's election to the Senate.

Throughout the fine, faded ink

handwriting of the letter are references to the Wilmot Proviso, an extended attempt to keep slavery

out of territories being brought into the United States.

Naming senators who were for the amendment and against the amendment the letter says, "On the whole, there-





Lincoln Lore

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From Our Archives

Editor's Note: For the last several months the Foundation Staff has been re-filing and cataloguing some of the manuscripts that are a part of the great accumulation of Lincoln and related material that has been collected since 1928. In going over these letters and documents one occasionally finds items, some of which are unpublished, that merit mention (with some elaboration) in *Lincoln Lore*. This issue of our bulletin is given over to a few of these interesting manuscripts. The reader will note that the manuscripts selected represent a cross section of our holdings.

—R. G. M.

Edwin M. Stanton Named Supreme Court Justice

Edwin McMasters Stanton is remembered today as Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of War (nominated and confirmed on June 15, 1862), and his abilities as a lawyer and versatile administrator have never been questioned. Few people are cognizant of the fact that Stanton, a Democrat, also served as attorney-general in James Buchanan's Cabinet having been appointed to that position on December 20, 1860, when the President reorganized his Cabinet. Even fewer people are aware of the fact that President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Stanton to a justiceship on the United States Supreme Court and that his nomination was confirmed on December 20, 1869.

Since the date of Lincoln's death, Stanton's reputation has suffered a sharp decline. He retained his post under Andrew Johnson and very soon came into conflict with the new President and his administration. He has been charged with playing into the hands of the radicals, of being guilty of intrigue with the rising opposition, and of fostering a punitive Southern policy. Some biographers, rightly or wrongly have criticized Stanton for defects of temperament, of disloyalty and duplicity in official relations which, be they true or not, detract from his stature as a public official.

Some biographers and historians who have made a detailed study of Andrew Johnson's administration have surmised that Stanton was disloyal for political purposes, and that he was motivated by egotism, a mistaken brand of patriotism, and the desire for some unknown reason, to stand well with the congressional opposition. Interestingly enough, while Stanton's reputation has declined, Johnson's reputation has undergone a gradual rehabilitation.

Stanton is an interesting figure in United States history, and until recent years has been badly in need of a competent biographer. This need has certainly been met with the publication of *Stanton—The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War*, by Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, which came from the press in 1962 and was published by Alfred A. Knopf.

Stanton resigned as Secretary of War after the Johnson impeachment charges failed (May 26, 1868). Overexertion and internal ailments undermined his health, necessitating a complete rest. However, he was able, before the year was over, to support Grant's candidacy for the Presidency and to resume a limited law practice.

After Grant's election, friends prevailed upon the President to give Stanton a place on the Supreme Court bench as a replacement for Roger Brooke Taney who died on October 12, 1864, and the former Secretary worked untiringly for the appointment. Stanton for many years had delighted in the sermons of the Methodist bishop, Matthew Simpson, and they became close friends. Working through the clergyman, who enjoyed considerable prestige, Stanton asked him to intervene with the President on his behalf.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Edwin M. Stanton
1814 - 1869

The Lincoln Library-Museum of the Lincoln National Life Foundation has three letters written by Stanton to Simpson, two of which are dated October 26, 1869 and one, November 3, 1869. One of these letters is a formal statement of regret over the Secretary's and Mrs. Stanton's inability to be present for the wedding of Bishop Simpson's daughter. This letter was enclosed with another of the same date marked "Private & Confidential."

"My Dear Friend

"This note is accompanied by the regret of Mrs. Stanton and myself that we are unable to attend your daughter's marriage, and by our good wishes for her and her husband's happiness. What I add herein, you will please to consider as *strictly personal* and confidential.

"You have been aware of my infirm health during the past year, and will be glad to know that by relaxation from labor, & travel it has very much improved so as to encourage hopes that it may be fully restored to enable me to enjoy some years longer of usefulness. But this may depend upon how I am employed. When I left my private pursuits for the public interest I had the best professional practice in the United States, was rapidly accumulating wealth, & living at ease. My expenses above my salary exhausted my surplus resources and with years ad-

vanced, and diminished strength I must toil for my living. There is a vacancy on the Supreme Bench for which I have adequate physical power, & so far as I can judge of my intellect, its powers are as acute & vigorous as at any period of my life—and perhaps more so.

"General Grant in justice to the Country, to himself & to me, ought to give me that appointment. So far as relates to himself not all his friends in the United States, upheld & advanced him as firmly & successfully during the war as I did in my official acts. There is no man who would uphold the principles of the war on which his usefulness & fame must rest, with more or equal vigor from the Bench. The Bench has now a great part to play in history during his administration, and upon no experienced resolute jurist, can he rely with greater confidence. My appointment would gratify the great mass of republicans, & rally them around Grant—it would be considered as disinterested, unpurchased, and a sure proof of the President's loyal determination. My residence here in the District is also a recommendation being free from Geographical discriminations.

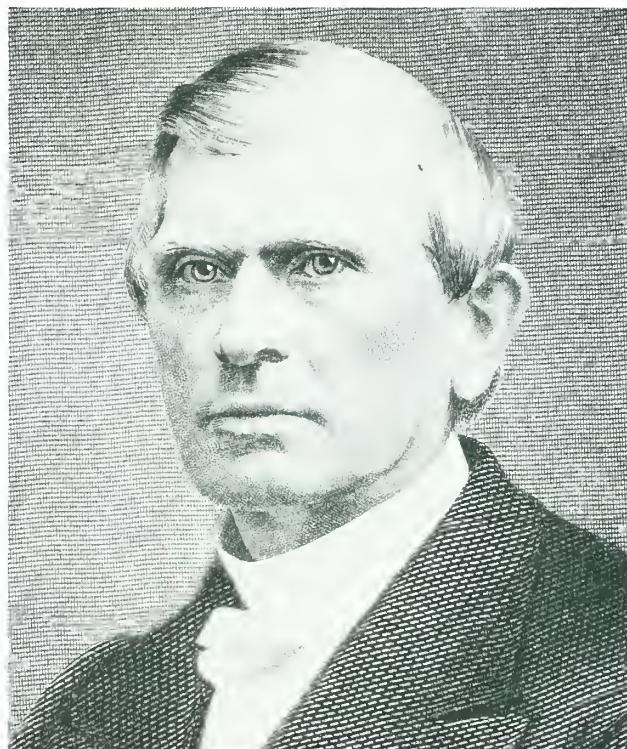
"I have said nothing to General Grant on the subject and shall not—but I would be glad to have you talk with him fully & freely and report to me his views on this question. To me it may in considerable degree be a question of life—it certainly is of health, for I must go to the Bench or Bar. His name & fortune he owed at a critical moment to me. He can preserve me to my family under Providence. I have communicated to you more fully than ever before to mortal man, & in confidence you will do what seems right of which you are a better judge than I am.

"Hoping to see or hear from you soon I am ever

Yours Edwin M. Stanton

Rt Rev Bishop Simpson"

Grant reacted favorably at first to the Methodist Bishop's entreaties, but George W. Childs, a Philadelphia banker who was friendly with the President, insisted



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Matthew Simpson
1811 - 1884

American Methodist Episcopal Clergyman. Spoke widely in support of Union cause during the Civil War and delivered eulogy at Lincoln's burial service in Springfield, Illinois.

that Stanton's health was a factor to take into consideration when the former War Secretary's name was presented for appointment to the Supreme Court bench. Bishop Simpson reported to Stanton as to how the matter of the appointment stood, and Stanton replied on November 3, 1869:

"My Dear Friend

"I am under much obligation for your note received this morning. When I heard that your daughter & her husband were to start so soon for Europe it caused me much regret to have troubled you with any affair of my own, but I hope it gave you no inconvenience. The result of your conference is very plain to me, and gives me no surprise, being what I have expected, and I am quite sure that you will conform to my wish that the matter be strictly confidential and confined to your own bosom. In regard to Childs, who for several years has been an active bitter enemy of mine because of my annulling a bargain between him & Gen'l Cameron which I disapproved—he doubtless knows the President's purpose, and my health is made an evasive excuse by Childs for a predetermined purpose, influenced by quite different consideration from that assigned. I shall take no step in the matter, and no allusion to it has ever been made except in my letter to you.

"So far as my health is concerned it is in the hands of Providence, and as respects Gen'l Grant he will be influenced by his judgment as to his own interest.

"I regret that it was not in my power to leave home to witness your daughter's marriage ceremony and make her husband's acquaintance. I hope they have a pleasant location in Italy. Their residence in that favored climate may tempt you to take the relaxation of a visit where there is much of interest and thus guard your own health from the dangers that I have apprehended you were incurring by too much labour and care.

"With many thanks and most sincere affection I am

Truly Yours
Edwin M. Stanton

Rt. Rev. Bishop Simpson"

Despite Stanton's insistence that Bishop Simpson cease to push his case, the Methodist clergyman continued to press Grant for the appointment, and he was assisted by other friends of Stanton. On December 20th, 1869 Grant named Stanton for the supreme bench, and his nomination was confirmed on December 20th, the day following his fifty-fourth birthday. Four days later Edwin McMasters Stanton was dead.

Lincoln's Proposed Cabinet

Editor's Note: In the archives of the Lincoln National Life Foundation is to be found a three page manuscript, in handwriting that resembles that of John G. Nicolay, which describes in some detail the manner in which President Abraham Lincoln selected his first Cabinet.

"It was, with two exceptions, the same as that which, four months later, he commenced his administration. His first cast of persons to compose the administration was as follows:

Lincoln	Judd
Seward	Chase
Bates	Blair
Dayton	Welles

"The four names in the first column, including that of Mr. Lincoln himself, were of men who in their political antecedents had been Whigs, while the four in the opposite parallel column were democrats in their principles and convictions, though Mr. Chase never identified himself with the democratic organization. He was distinctly anti-slavery, but concurred with the democrats in supporting the rights of the States and an advocate of a strict construction of the Constitution.

"Nathaniel (Norman) B. Judd of Chicago was an active and influential politician of Illinois, and for many years a leading member of the legislature of that state. He was also a member of the Republican National Committee, and probably did more than any other individual to bring forward and secure the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, for whom he had high regard and friendship, which was fully reciprocated. The President informed me that he had, personally a stronger desire that Judd should be associated with him in the administration than any one else but he was from Illinois, and there were political and other circumstances which intervened. Instead of a



cabinet appointment therefore he received the Prussian mission which he filled during Mr. Lincoln's Administration, but he was recalled soon after Mr. Lincoln's death on representations made by Mr. Seward.

"William L. Dayton of New Jersey, who was designated for a position in the original cast of the Cabinet was appointed minister to France. He had been the successful competitor with Mr. Lincoln for the nomination of Vice President in 1856, and was held in especial esteem by him. There was, however, as usual a strong local claim for Pennsylvania, without any distinguished statesman in whom the President had such faith and confidence as he had in Mr. Dayton, but the pressure from without as well as from within the state and with certain complications of his friends led to the substitution of Mr. Cameron. It was the first intention of the President, as I have understood, after this substitution to have conferred on Mr. Dayton the mission to St. James; but Mr. Seward, who was to have charge of foreign affairs, preferred that Mr. Adams should have the English appointment and Mr. Dayton therefore received the mission to France.

"These changes in the original programme or cast of the Cabinet, did not affect the purpose of the President to have in his council an equal number of men of opposing parties in the past. Caleb Smith a Whig and Simon Cameron a democrat took the place of Judd a democrat and Dayton a Whig."

Autograph of "Old Abe"

On May 18, 1860 Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican National Convention in Chicago. Immediately thereafter the Presidential candidate was besieged with well-wishers, a notification committee, photographers, politicians, congratulatory telegrams and innumerable letters. Some of the letters requested Mr. Lincoln's autograph, and William E. Norris of Pittsfield, Illinois, must have been one of the first to make such a request, as the following letter indicates:

Springfield May 26, 1860

Friend William

Mr. Lincoln has been so occupied with men who have called to see him, that I couldn't get a chance at him, since the receipt of your letter until this morning. I enclose you his autograph.

Yours

Jno. G. Nicolay

Upon receiving the letter, Norris wrote on the bottom

portion of the original sheet the following:
Pittsfield May 28th, 1860

Uncle Isaac

Enclosed you will find the autograph of "Old Abe" as promised with the letter of Mr. Nicolay as a voucher for its genuineness. Folks are all well. No letters have arrived for you up to this date.

Yours

Wm. E. Norris

While this original letter has been preserved in the Foundation's collection, the autograph of "Old Abe" is missing.

**" . . . when the intelligence was received
of the surrender of the Confederate forces . . . "**

In the early 1890s John E. Remsburg compiled a series of reminiscences of the prominent men of the Civil War period for inclusion in his book *Abraham Lincoln: Was He a Christian?* The Truth Seeker Company, New York, 1893. The compiler's conclusion was negative.

On April 11th, 1891 Hugh McCulloch, who had served as Secretary of the Treasury under Lincoln and Johnson (1865-69), and under Arthur (1884-85), received a letter from Remsburg making the usual inquiries regarding the religion of the Sixteenth President. Although McCulloch did not reside in Fort Wayne at this time, his letter addressed to Remsburg was postmarked in this city on April 15th. Due to our lack of information as to the contents of the Remsburg letter, the first paragraph is meaningless:

"Yours of the 11th inst duly came to hand. I can answer, yes, to both of your inquiries. I send you a copy of his reply and am pleased that it is so complete and satisfactory.

"The description of what occurred, at the executive mansion, when the intelligence was received of the surrender of the confederate forces, which you quote from the Western Christian Advocate is not only absolutely groundless, but absurd. After I became Sec-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Hugh McCulloch

1808 - 1895

American lawyer and banker born in Kennebunk, Maine. Practiced law in Fort Wayne, Indiana (1833); bank official, Fort Wayne 1835-63). U. S. Comptroller of the Currency (1863-65); U. S. Secretary of the Treasury (1865-69) and again (1884-85).

retary of the Treasury I was present at every Cabinet meeting, and I never saw Mr. Lincoln or any of his ministers upon his knees or in tears.

"We were not especially jubilant over Lee's surrender, for this we had been prepared for some days. The time for our great rejoicing was a little earlier. After Gen. Sherman had commenced his celebrated march to the sea, and long and weary days had passed without any reliable reports from him, we were filled with anxiety and apprehension. It was when the news came that he and his army in excellent condition, were in the neighborhood of Charleston, that our joy was irrepressible, not only because of their safety, but because it was an assurance that the days of the Confederacy were nearly ended. With Grant before Richmond, in command of Superior forces, and Sherman with the finest army in the world, ready to move northward, everybody felt that the war must be soon concluded, and that the Union was safe.

"We were, of course, happy when Gen. Lee and his severely tried soldiers, laid down their arms, but this, as I have said, was not unexpected. It was when our anxiety in regard to Sherman, was succeeded by hopefulness and confidence, that our joy became exuberant, but there was no such exhibition of it as has been published by the Advocate."

"Very Truly Yours

Mr. N. P. Stockbridge

Hugh McCulloch"

As the theme of McCulloch's April 15, 1891 letter did not dwell upon Mr. Lincoln's religion, Remsburg did not incorporate it into his book. Instead he selected from the *Reminiscences of Lincoln*, pages 412-413, McCulloch's statement regarding Lincoln's lack of regard for creeds and dogmas, but the compiler did record the Secretary's contention that "He (Lincoln) was a man of strong religious convictions . . ."

William J. Ferguson Saw Booth Shoot Lincoln

New York, June 19, 1914.

Mr. Edward Freiberger.

Dear Sir:-

In reply to your letter of June 17th asking me what my position was at Ford's Theatre, Washington, D.C. on the night of the assassination of President Lincoln, I must tell you that it is a subject that is distressing to me to recall; however, I would respectfully state, that, I was Call Boy of that theatre, consequently, the only member of that company now acting. My post of duty was at the prompter's box, opposite and in full view of the President's Box. I saw the occurrence, bring down the curtain for the last time.

Sincerely yours

Wm. J. Ferguson.

In 1930 the Houghton Mifflin Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, published one thousand copies of a book titled *I Saw Booth Shoot Lincoln*, by the actor, W. J. Ferguson. The work is amply illustrated, and the narrative of the assassination is dramatically reported by the one-time Call Boy.

A letter written by Ferguson from New York on June 19, 1914, addressed to Mr. Edward Freiberger, has found its way into the Foundation's collection:

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of June 17th asking me what my position was at Ford's Theatre, Washington, D.C. on the night of the assassination of President Lincoln, I must tell you that it is a subject that is distressing to me to recall; however, I would respectfully state, that, I was Call Boy of that theatre, consequently, the only member of that company now acting. My post of duty was at the prompter's Box, opposite and in full view of the President's Box. I saw the occurrence,

rang down the curtain for the last time.

Sincerely yours
Wm. J. Ferguson

"Boston" Corbett

About ten years ago the director of the Lincoln Library-Museum purchased from a book catalogue a manuscript account of Thomas "Boston" Corbett, who allegedly shot John Wilkes Booth on April 26, 1865. Writing with a pencil, five years after the affair (1870), an unknown Philadelphia *Sunday World* correspondent described Corbett as living in "a little old forlorn-looking house at Camden, New Jersey" and proceeded to quote his conversation and to describe his appearance. Corbett was one of the mysterious figures of the Lincoln assassination story, and his ultimate end remains to this day a mystery.

The correspondent's penciled notes follow:

Boston Corbett who shot Wilkes Booth, lives in a little old forlorn-looking house at 328 Pine St., Camden N.J., where he has been visited by a correspondent of the Philadelphia *Sunday World*. This writer describes Corbett as short in stature, with a resolute and rather stern face. He is about forty years old, is very plain in dress and his principal boast appears to be his devotion as a Methodist. He busily plys his trade as a hatter. He lives alone in his little house, doing his own cooking and housekeeping, and seeing nobody but members of the little flock of Methodists, which meet nightly at his house and of which he is the head. Heaped together in a corner of his kitchen are half a dozen rough benches for the use of his congregation. He preaches and exhorts himself and uses a Windsor chair for a pulpit. When asked if the name "Boston" was not a nickname he became rather angry, and his eyes flashed, and holding on high a Testament with the name "Boston Corbett" printed on it in black ink he said, pointing his finger at the name, "Young man, there is my name; the only one I shall ever own. In Boston I was converted; there met my Redeemer, and Boston is the only name I wish to be called by."

As he accompanied his visitor to the gate he said, "On that eventful morning of my life, as I shot the assassin crouched like a savage beast in the recesses of the barn, I felt that I was doing my duty to my God and my country. To this day I feel justified in my course. Were the ghosts of twenty assassins to rise against me, they could not disturb a calm Christian Spirit."



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Thomas "Boston" Corbett

This fanatic was alleged to have shot Lincoln's assassin.



Lincoln Lore

October, 1976

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Number 1664

The Troublesome Border States: Two Previously Unpublished Lincoln Documents

The Lincoln Library and Museum is proud to announce the acquisition of two previously unpublished endorsements by Abraham Lincoln. Both concern Border States, and together they suggest a policy pursued by the Lincoln administration

in the first year of the Civil War. Both letters of recommendation were written on the same day, but Lincoln acted on them at different times.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 1. This strongly worded piece of 1864 campaign literature exaggerated the success of Northern armies in the war by exaggerating the amount of "Territory held by the Rebels when they fired on SUMTER." All of the gray and black areas allegedly belonged to the Confederates in 1861. The map serves well to indicate the importance of the larger Border States and documents the common assumption, North and South, that the Border States were more Southern than Northern in spirit.

The Letters

House of Rep.
Jany 9. 1861. [1862]

To the President of the U. S.

Dr Sir

Maj Wallen of the U. States Army has seen much service. He is a Southern man, by birth and has faithfully adhered to his allegiance amid the treason of his Southern associates of the army & I hope his fidelity may be rewarded, by honorable promotion. We have but few Southern Born men in the service,

Very resply your frined [sic]
C A Wickliff

I sincerely wish Major Wallen could be relieved from going to New-Mexico—

A. Lincoln

Jan. 20. 1862.

House of Representatives.
Washington City Jan'y 9th 1862.

To His Excellency

A. Lincoln, President U. S.

Sir,

Permit us to recommend to you for appointment, as a Major in one of the new Regiments of the Regular Army, Major Thomas E Noell of Missouri. We desire to say in reference to Major Noell, that he is a gentleman of the highest order of talent, with a liberal Education, and an unspotted character. Before the commencement of our present troubles, Major Noell, was engaged in the successful practice of the law, enjoying the confidence of the Courts, the Bar, and the whole community. Early in September, he enlisted as a private in the first Volunteer company, raised in South East Missouri, was made a first Lieutenant, and when enough Union State troops, were raised for a Battalion, he was unanimously chosen by the officers as Major, in which capacity he has served ever since. He has been in Camp with his men the whole time, acquired proficiency in the drill and by his energy skill and courage, has protected seven or eight counties, from the lawless depredations of the Secession hordes, of the Swamp region. We feel that Missouri is entitled to a respectable appointment, in the New Regiments of the Regular Army, and in Major Noell a Native born citizen of Missouri, we feel that we should be so represented, that our State would be honored, and the public service greatly promoted.

We confidently hope that our application for his appointment will be promptly granted.—

We remain Most Respectfully

Your Ob't Sev'ts
James S. Rollins
E. H. Norton
Thos. L. Price
R Wilson
Wm A Hall
Jno W Noell
J. H. Henderson

I have a personal acquaintance with Major Noel [1] and am confident that if he should receive an appointment in the army he will not only serve the country well but will distinguish himself in the service

H. R. Gamble
Gov. of Mo

Washington
Jan 27. 1862

Respectfully submitted to the War Department, with the remark that, while I know not if there be a vacant Majority, I shall be quite willing the applicant within recommended shall have it, especially as it is said Missouri has had no appointments in the new Regular Army.

A. Lincoln

Feb. 1, 1862.

[Docketing in another hand]

Major Thos E. Noell

Missouri

Major U. S. A.

Recommended by

The President

Hon F. P. Blair

" Jas. S. Rollins

Gov H. R. Gamble

1 Enclosure

Lincoln and the Border States

"I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game," wrote President Lincoln to Orville Hickman Browning on September 22, 1861. "Kentucky gone," he continued, "we can not hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too large for us. We would as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this captiol."

As James A. Rawley has argued, these were not the sentimental musings of a son of the Border. There were hard population and geographical facts to back them up. The white population of the eleven Confederate states was 5,451,000. Kentucky's white population was 919,484; Missouri's was 1,063,489; and Maryland had 515,918 white inhabitants. The total for these three Border States alone was 2,498,891, or just under half the total population of the Confederacy. Despite a tremendous population differential between North and South (about 22 1/2 million to 5 1/2 million or to 8 3/4 million counting slaves), the South held on for four years and came close to European recognition, stalemate, and independence. With the differential at 20 million to 10 1/4 million (counting slaves), the results might have been very different. In fact, that 2:1 ratio is reminiscent of the old saw about population in America's *successful* revolution of 1776, in which a third of the population, estimated to be actively interested in the patriot cause, won independence for the whole nation from Britain.

Geographically, Kentucky was of great strategic importance. With the Ohio River as a northern boundary, the Confederacy would have had a "natural military frontier" from the Atlantic to the Missouri River. A Confederate Missouri would have made control of the Mississippi River, a key aspect of Northern strategy, much more difficult. Kentucky's sentimental influence was significant as well. Missouri had 100,000 citizens born in Kentucky; Illinois had 60,000 (including the President of the United States); Indiana had 68,000; Ohio had 15,000; and Iowa had 13,000.

Lincoln's policies towards Kentucky have been much studied and written about. He followed a policy of appointing loyal men to governmental positions in Kentucky, whether they were Republicans or not and whether they held slaves or not (most often they were not Republicans, for Kentucky's Republican party was tiny and feeble). For a brief period, he blinked at Kentucky's announced policy of neutrality which was surely as illegal as secession. He supplied arms to Union men in Kentucky secretly, and he avoided coercion of the state until the Confederates invaded it, thus placing the onus of firing the first shot in Kentucky on the Confederacy rather than the Union. This gave the North a great psychological advantage.

As Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin point out in *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), much of the Lincoln administration's Kentucky patronage involved military commissions. They argue that he took care to fill the officeships with good Union men, but that

he tried to fill military appointments in Kentucky with men who had some connection with the state, that is, men who were Kentucky residents or who had been born in Kentucky. They could have added that he tried to cement Kentucky to the Union cause by making military appointments recommended by influential Kentuckians.

The point of C. A. Wickliffe's letter of recommendation for Major Wallen was that Lincoln must appoint Southern-born men to the United States Army, rather than that Kentucky must have only Southern-born officers operating within its borders. By 1862, then, Border State policy included efforts to tie their loyalties to the Union, not by leaving them alone, but by giving their region appointments in the United States Army.

Henry D. Wallen was not apparently a Kentuckian, however. When his son was appointed to West Point in 1862, he was listed as a Georgian. Wallen was a Regular Army captain when the war began and was serving on the Pacific coast. In the autumn of 1861, he was promoted to Major of the Seventh Infantry, but he had friends in high places and, as soon as he received his promotion, these friends were urging further promotion — to Inspector General or Brigadier General. President Lincoln wrote a memorandum as early as December 4, 1861, reminding himself that Wallen was being pushed for higher rank. On January 18, 1862, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, Senator Henry S. Lane of Indiana, Senator John P. Hale of Maine, and Senator James W. Nesmith of Oregon called on President Lincoln, begging him not to send Major Wallen to New Mexico. Lincoln then wrote a strongly worded recommendation to Secretary of War Stanton that he not be sent. Two days later, Lincoln endorsed Congressman Wickliffe's request on Wallen's behalf. On the same day that the Senators called on Major Wallen's behalf, Lincoln ordered "it to [be] definitely settled" that Henry D. Wallen, Jr., presumably the Major's son, be one of the ten at-large appointments to become a cadet at West Point. This request was obeyed, and young Wallen entered the United States Military Academy that year.

Major Wallen did not fare as well. He served for two years in New Mexico, fighting Indians and Confederate sympathizers in that far-off and rather inglorious sideshow to the great Civil War. Lincoln's wishes could be overridden. But the administration's "Southern strategy" was at work. Of the ten at-large appointments to West Point, four came from slave states.

Charles A. Wickliffe's influence with the administration would fade. Wickliffe (he spelled his name with an "e," but he went blind late in his life, and the approach of this condition may account for the bizarre spelling and handwriting in his letter) was born in Kentucky in 1788. He had served in Congress practically forty years before Lincoln received his recommendation for Major Wallen. He had been a Whig and served in John Tyler's Cabinet. During the Civil War, Wickliffe, a Union-loving moderate, became a leader of Unionist sentiment in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Joshua F. Speed recommended Wickliffe in May of 1861, as a safe recipient of the arms that were being distributed secretly in Kentucky to Union men. In the first year of the war, then, he was grouped with the likes of the Speed family, James Harlan, and Garrett Davis as a loyal bulwark in a shaky and doubtful state.

Loyalty to the Union "as it was" was as far as Wickliffe's loyalty extended, however. When President Lincoln began in the spring of 1862 to urge the Border States to adopt a plan of emancipation within their borders, he raised constitutional objections. By 1863, he was so alienated from the measures of the Lincoln administration that he became the nominee for Governor of Kentucky on the Peace Democratic platform,

which decried the Federal government's usurpations of Kentucky's constitutional liberties. In a rare letter to his wife, President Lincoln commented on Wickliffe's loss of the election to Unionist Democrat Thomas Bramlette: "Old Mr. Wickliffe got ugly, as you know, ran for Governor, and is terribly beaten."

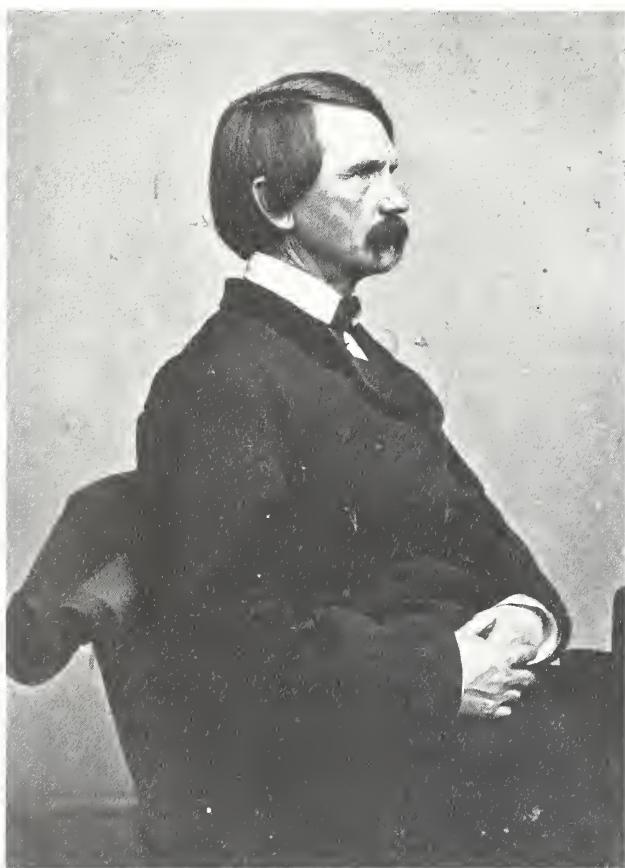
Wickliffe's career is proof of the wisdom of Lincoln's Border State policies. In the early months of the war, the President cooperated with even Democrats like Wickliffe as long as they sought to keep the Union together. Once Kentucky was safely in the Union fold, the inertia of constitutional boundaries and legalities kept her on the North's side despite the extreme unpopularity of emancipation within this slave-holding state. If a few strong-willed and independent old men like Wickliffe refused to change their principles, the state did not waver, and Wickliffe lost in a landslide. Had the Lincoln administration followed a policy of tampering with slavery from the start of the war, Kentucky, as Holman Hamilton has argued, would doubtless have seceded with Virginia and the rest of the upper South.

Two of the new appointments to the Military Academy hailed from Missouri, and the administration favored candidates for office championed by men from this Border State as well. Reinhard Luthin and Harry Carman argue that Missouri was firmly in the Union bag by August of 1861, and that Lincoln's patronage worries in that state thereafter stemmed from an enormous feud between conservative politicians of the Edward Bates, Francis P. Blair, and Hamilton R. Gamble stripe and more liberal politicians like John C. Frémont and B. Gratz Brown.

The Lincoln administration, as much by accident as anything else, was firmly the captive of the conservative faction. Edward Bates, who had been one of Lincoln's rivals for the Presidential nomination, became a Cabinet member, as did Lincoln's other major rival William H. Seward. Hamilton R. Gamble, the Governor of Missouri, was Bates's brother-in-law. Lincoln's Postmaster General was Montgomery Blair, who deserved inclusion in the first Republican President's Cabinet because of his important contributions to the founding of the party and because the Blair family in general represented the interests of Democrats who became Republicans. Francis P. Blair, Jr., was Montgomery's brother. Through his Cabinet, then, Lincoln had close ties to the one faction in Missouri. The other faction, identified for a time with the career and charisma of John C. Frémont, represented a rival Republican interest in the Presidency which Lincoln never succeeded in conciliating. Indeed, the only reason Frémont had a command in Missouri was that he had once been thick with the Blairs, and they persuaded Lincoln to appoint him. Later, Missouri proved to be too small for the ambitions of both Francis Blair and Frémont, and the two became bitter factional rivals.

Major Thomas E. Noell's name came before Lincoln with impeccable factional credentials. Hamilton R. Gamble and Francis Blair were leaders of the faction, as was Congressman James S. Rollins. More important than Noell's factional identification at this juncture in the war, at least from President Lincoln's point of view as opposed to that of the politicians within Missouri, was the simple fact that he came well recommended by a Border State delegation. This seems to have been persuasive, for on April 1, 1862, Thomas E. Noell became a captain in the Nineteenth Infantry, United States Army.

Thomas E. Noell was being recommended for promotion by his own father, John Noell, who was a member of the Missouri delegation in the House of Representatives. John Noell died in Washington in 1863, before his term ended. In 1864, his



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 2. Francis P. Blair, Jr.

son resigned his commission and ran successfully for his father's former seat. Thomas Noell won reelection and, like his father, died in office.

Doubtless the word was out in Washington that a way to gain an appointment from the Lincoln administration was to represent a slave-state interest that could perhaps be won to the Union side. Lincoln noted in the case of Noell that the appointment was of special merit if it were true that there were no Missouri men in the new units of the Regular Army. Major Wallen, on the other hand, had influential friends all over the Union, but it is interesting to note that his friends followed up their pleas for saving his career from the obscurity of the New Mexico theater of war by having Kentuckian Charles Wickliffe urge the Major's cause on the ground that there were too few Southern-born men in the Army.

The story of the Border States always serves to impress us with the speed with which political events in the Civil War moved. Although it is fashionable to think that a policy of emancipation was arrived at at a snail's pace, the view from the Border suggest quite the opposite. One must keep in mind that slavery was an institution over two centuries old in a country than was fifteen years short of one century old. The United States was no nearer abolishing slavery on April 13, 1861, than it had been one, two, or three decades before. In fact, the chances of doing away with the peculiar institution without war were far slimmer in 1861 than in the first fifty years after the American Revolution. As Lincoln figured out and said repeatedly, as far as slavery was concerned there had been no progress, only decline, from the conditions of the early days of the republic. Recent studies of the economic health of the slave economy indicate that it was thriving, and its racial purpose never changed.

To look at the Civil War through a Kentucky prism is to see

events fairly hurtling past. If the Kentucky legislature had been sitting on April 14, when Sumter was fired upon, she might well have left the Union with the other four Southern states which did so for that reason. In May, Lincoln was smuggling guns into the state to any Democrat who seemed to want to keep Kentucky out of the Confederacy. The President ignored the state's illegal neutrality. By the Fourth of July, Lincoln attacked neutrality as showing "no fidelity to the Constitution," but he sent no Union troops to Kentucky. Even after Unionists won the August elections for a new state legislature, Lincoln kept only Kentucky soldiers in Kentucky. When John C. Frémont issued an emancipation order in Missouri on August 30, some Kentucky soldiers threw down their guns and went home. Within a week, the Confederates stupidly invaded Kentucky. The legislature then abandoned neutrality and took active measures to support the North.

In just a year from this time, Lincoln would identify his administration with a policy of emancipation. And he wasted very little time in broaching the subject to the slave-holding Border. In six months Lincoln was advising the Border States to get rid of slavery; he sugared the pill by offering compensation. Kentucky turned the offer down, and it was Kentucky Congressmen especially, among them Charles Wickliffe, who raised objections to the plan in a meeting of Border State Congressmen with Lincoln on March 10, 1862.

The price Lincoln paid was unpopularity. McClellan took Kentucky in a landslide in 1864, 61,000 to 26,000, and, as Holman Hamilton has said, in spirit Kentucky then joined the Confederacy. For practical military reasons, however, Lincoln's cautious early policy of giving the reluctant Border disproportionate attention paid off, and Missouri and Kentucky helped more than they hindered the effort to keep the nation from falling apart.



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 3. John C. Frémont



Lincoln Lore

April, 1981

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Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
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NEW LIGHT ON THE SEWARD-WELLES-LINCOLN CONTROVERSY?

Charles Francis Adams delivered a eulogy on William H. Seward in April, 1873, about six months after Seward's death. Isolated from day-to-day political developments during the Civil War by his residence in England and indebted to Secretary of State Seward for his appointment as Ambassador to England, Adams thought that Seward had been the mastermind of the Lincoln administration. His eulogy on Seward made that point clear. It also rankled Gideon Welles.

As Secretary of the Navy during the Lincoln administration, Welles undeniably occupied a better seat to observe the inner

workings of the Lincoln administration. He had never liked Seward, and he possessed considerable talents as a polemical writer and delineator of acid portraits. Welles's rebuttal to Adams's eulogy appeared in a book, *Lincoln and Seward*, published in 1874. Welles, as his able biographer John Niven put it, "was the first promoter of the Lincoln legend." Seward's stock went down, never to rise above Lincoln's again.

Welles's book struck a responsive chord in George B. Lincoln, an obscure New York politician who had been Brooklyn's postmaster during the Civil War. After reading the book, he wrote a



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. William H. Seward.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. Gideon Welles.

long letter to its author. The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum acquired the letter this year, and it is published here for the first time.

Rivervale Bergin Co N.J. April 25th 1874
Hon Gideon Welles

My dear Sir

A thoughtful friend recently sent me a copy of the book called "*Lincoln & Seward*". Having thanked him for sending it. I perform now the pleasant duty—of thanking you for writing it—I read these articles as they appeared in the *Galaxy* and then promised myself to write & thank you for the timely service you were rendering to our country in correcting at once the false impression that the address of *Mr Adams* was giving of the relative status in public affairs of *Pres. Lincoln* and his Sec *Mr Seward*.

Mr Lincoln was my personal friend long before he came to Washington in 1861. I think I remember telling you once of the style of apartments they gave *Mr Lincoln* at the Astor House in March 1860, and my complaint thereat—and telling the office boys there that the time would come when they would not offer him such a room as No 17!—telling them that he was to be the next President of the United States—at which they laughed immediately—asking me if I was *Crazy!* I refer to this, as I recollect the remark you made to me the first time we met after the inauguration when you said—"The Astor House people found a different set of apartments for *Mr Lincoln* when he came on this time from those they gave him a few years ago—did they not?"

Pardon me if I devote a little time this stormy night to giving you a few of my early impressions & reminicences of my good namesake. Had my name been *Smith* or *Jones* I would have known but little of *Lincoln*, about as much as the average of *Smith & Jones* family did previous to 1860. But my name was *Lincoln*—and my business interests brought me in continual contact with those who knew my namesake well and regarded him much—and my name would perpetually suggest some anecdote or fact relating to *Abraham* which being repeated—became after awhile to convince me that if the reputation of a man who stood so strong at *home* could be made *national*—nothing could withstand it in a competing political canvas.

In these articles before me you refer to the presentation of *Mr Lincolns* name at *Phil^a* in 1856 for the place of *Vice President*—a matter that few remembered in 1860.

But when I read the account of the doings of that convention I said to myself—"That one hundred & ten votes if properly utilised will defeat *Seward* and nominate *Lincoln*." Within thirty days thereafter I stated my belief to my intimate personal friends among whom I remember my then brilliant young friend *Theodore Tilton*. For the two years and more that followed I lost no opportunity when among those active in public affairs to declare my belief that *Lincoln* was the coming man—but I was looked upon as *cracked!* at least upon political subjects and then in the autumn of 1858 came the great controversy between *Lincoln & Douglass*—when people began to open their eyes a little; when the name of my friend was mentioned. The next winter I visited Springfield while their Legislature was in session.

I enquired who were *Lincolns* partial friends and influential withal. I was told that *Leonard Swett* a very able Lawyer and a member of the Senate was perhaps his most influential political friend. Ascertaining that there was to be a reception at the house of the *Governor (Bissell)* that night I thought that my best opportunity perhaps to make the acquaintance of *Swett* and other of *Lincolns* friends. I went expecting to meet *Lincoln* there himself—but he did not come. I then introduced myself to *Mr Swett* & told him my convictions in the matter of *Lincoln* as a future candidate for the Presidency and there gave him my reasons therefor. It was a small gathering—and soon I found myself surrounded by the warm friends of my namesake and then & there I proposed to them a plan of procedure which if carried out by his friends would I thought result in giving to *Ill* the next candidate.

It seemed a new thought to these gentlemen—for all they hoped for was to place him *second* on the ticket *That* they

thought would be easy—but to *head* the ticket was a new idea. *Seward* seemed to have the whole field. But I spoke as an Eastern man knowing that *Seward* was damaged somewhat by the perpetual howl of the *New York Herald* that he was a full fledged *abolitionist!* (which name he never, to the day of his death truly deserved) while on the other hand *Mr Lincoln* had not been in Washington to be mixed up with the *Helper Book matter* or any other matter requiring *defence*. One hundred & ten had declared their regard for him at *Phil^a* and the *Douglass* controversy had given *Mr Lincoln* a national reputation among thoughtful men.

I returned to New York by way of Columbus O. and the City of Washington—calling upon my friends at the Capital—I knew but few—but among them were *Owen Lovejoy* of Ill & *John F. Potter* of Wis. To these I declared my views—but that anybody but myself saw the thing possible—did not appear. I sought *Mr Greeley* and had a long talk with him, and also with *Gov Morgan*—who was *Seward's* warm friend. *Gov Morgan* took down from his case a copy of the doings of the *Phil^a* convention and read to me a speech made there by some western man—a rough subject—who had nominated *Mr Lincoln* there. I went to *Parton* to see if he would not write a *life of Lincoln*—but he said he had no *impulse* that way—while he liked the man—but he could not write without *impulse!* Said he could write the life of *Burr* whom he disliked because he had an *impulse* to do so.

Another year rolled arround when I again found myself in the west. *Carpenter* in his '*Six Months at the White House*' tells the story of my finding at *Naples* on the Ill. River an old man by the name of *Pollard Simmons* who told me the story of *Lincoln* having lived with him while yet a young man and working—among other things at *Splitting Rails!* When Simmonds told me that story I said to myself—I would not take the vote of *three small states* for that fact.

In occasional letters to the *New York Tribune* & to the *Press & Tribune* of *Chicago* I had taken occasion to say kind words for *Lincoln*—but not as a Presidential candidate—and when I reached *Sandoval* in Southern Ill I wrote a letter to the *Press* and *Tribune* giving the facts of my interview with *Mr Simmonds* & also some fact concerning *Lincoln* which *Shelby Cullom* (late M. C. whom few will remember) gave me in relation to the manner of his (*Lincolns*) studying law. These facts were taken from my Chicago letter by the *New York Tribune* and published a few days later under the head of *Personal of Lincoln*. My object was accomplished. My friend was now advertised as a *Rail Splitter* and the use made of that political *war club* was all that I could have reasonably asked. I think it was even better than the *Hard Cider* dodge.

I again sought *Swett*. He was practicing law in court at *Bloomington*—before Judge *David Davis* I again went over my programe—and when he had heard me he asked me to wait until the court adjourned for he wanted me to talk to *Davis* as I had done to him. This I did.

I kept busy as best I could up to the time of the meeting of the convention and finally wrote the leading communication in the *Press & Tribune* published the morning the convention met from my place of business in New York—claiming as a New Yorker that *Lincoln* would make a better run than *Seward*.

Three weeks ago I met in *Chicago* *Mr Swett*. He took me by the hand and said *Mr Lincoln!* you were the first man who gave us any confidence in our state that we could nominate *Lincoln*. He had said the same before at my house in Brooklyn.

Believing that I had something to do in giving courage to *Mr Lincolns* home friends, and having furnished the *Rail Splitting* club for the party I thought you might be interested sufficiently in my story to read it.

Two little incidents I will relate which may, under the circumstances interest you. Early in January 1861 I visited my friend at Springfield. Spending an evening at his house by invitation—in the course of conversation the President remarked that he had tendered to *Mr Bates* a seat in his Cabinet and asked me what I thought of it I told him that I thought it a proper appointment in all respects—and especially a compliment to a class with whom *Mr Bates* had acted politically and who had come in with us. I then said *Mr President!* Pardon me if I tell you what else I would do—and then I said "were I in your place



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 3. Carl Schurz.

I would say to Mr Seward Sir!—what have I at command that you will accept? You can be my *Secretary of State* or if you prefer—the court of *St James* is at your service!]—At this Mrs Lincoln rallied with “Never! Never! Seward in the Cabinet! Never! If things should go on all right—the credit would go to Seward—if they went wrong—the blame would fall upon my husband. Seward in the Cabinet! Never!” I then stated to *Madam* that she had not waited to hear the remainder of what I had to say—which was *this* “That will be your part I hope Mr Seward will have the sense of propriety and *delicacy* to say in reply”. “Sir! I am a *Senator* and just now I desire nothing more.” “*I do not desire to see Mr Seward in the Cabinet*” Mr. Lincoln performed his part—but the sense of *delicacy*, & as it seemed then to me *propriety* was lacking upon the other side.

I may be ungenerous, but I can never divest my mind of the impression that had the result of the war been the reverse of what it was—there would have been few tears to be shed by *Somebody*!

One other story & I will worry you no farther. In the early part of 1867 I was in Wisconsin, and spent a day at *East Troy* with Hon John F. Potter. He then related to me what occurred at the rooms of the *Sec of State* in the early part of 1861. *Schultz* name had been mentioned as a candidate for a mission abroad and one afternoon (Says Potter) “Doolittle & myself called upon the President to advance Mr *Schultz* interests.

The President said “Yes. I am in favor of giving Mr *Schultz* a foreign appointment—but the Secretary opposes it.” and begged of them to call upon the Secretary in relation to it. This seemed strange said Potter—for as between *Lincoln* & *Seward* at Chicago—*Schultz* was a *Seward* man. So they called upon *Mr Seward* and stated their business. Mr S. answered that he

was utterly opposed to sending men abroad who were exiles and whose opinions were obnoxious to those to whom they were accredited—and therefore was opposed to the appointment of *Mr S. Potter* then said to the Sec “—I thought we sent men abroad to represent *our* views—not *theirs*!” After exhausting all argument with the Sec to no avail—they arose to depart—Saying as they went that *Mr Schultz* would be disappointed at not having his cooperation in the matter. At this the Sec. rose in great rage—swinging his arms and rushing across the room exclaiming “dissatisfied! disappointed! talk to *me* about disappointment! look at *Me!* simply a clerk of the President[!]

You may have heard Sec *Stanton* tell this story of the Spanish Minister who called upon him one day and declared himself thus “*Stanton!* you have the *funniest* country here of all the earth—you have *no government*—but you move along—all the same—just as though you had[.] *Stanton!* there are three things which God almighty seems to take special care of *viz* *Drunkards!* *Little children* and the *United States of America*[!]

That “special care” it seems to me was our national salvation.

Sincerely thanking you for your timely labor to protect the reputation and precious memory of our mutual friend

Believe me
with great respect
Your friend
Geo. B. Lincoln

How reliable a witness was George B. Lincoln? Can we really believe a man who claimed, fourteen years after the fact, to have originated the famous “rail-splitter” image? If George Lincoln was shrewd enough to realize in 1856 that Abraham Lincoln could take the Republican nomination from Seward, he was more politically astute than most of the politicians in America—moreso even than Abraham Lincoln himself. Did George Lincoln really ask James Parton to write a campaign biography in the winter of 1858-1859, months before the idea occurred to Abraham Lincoln’s political intimates in Illinois? Did Abraham Lincoln, as President-elect, really invite the would-be Brooklyn postmaster to Springfield and discuss Cabinet appointments in his presence? Would Mrs. Lincoln, whose knowledge of the intentions of her husband’s administration never appeared very strong, have been present at such a discussion? Could a small-time politician who could not recall Carl Schurz’s name accurately have possibly known the things he claimed to know? In short, was George B. Lincoln a blowhard or a knowledgeable insider?

We can never know the answer for certain, but there is some good evidence that George B. Lincoln was not a thoroughly reliable witness. The Illinois State Historical Library, for example, owns a letter from the Brooklyn politician to Francis B. Carpenter which is an admission of error in telling a story about President Lincoln. Carpenter, who had spent six months in the White House painting a canvas which celebrated the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, capitalized on his experiences after the President’s assassination by publishing reminiscences in various periodicals. Some of these were Carpenter’s own recollections, but others he gleaned from other associates of the President—including the Brooklyn postmaster. On December 19, 1867, George B. Lincoln told Carpenter: “I notice in the papers a card from Ex Governor Seymour of New York denying the truthfulness of the alleged interview between the late President Lincoln & himself—as reported in your reminiscences of Mr. Lincoln as published in the Independent of the 12th inst. Having stated this story to you—as it was given to me—*falsely* as it now appears I take the earliest moment to express my regret that I should have been the means of furnishing an item untrue in itself and offensive to all concerned.” He went on to explain that he had been fooled by the wealth of details supplied by his informant.

To his credit, George B. Lincoln did apologize to Carpenter

and allowed him to use his letter as an explanation of the error. Moreover, this incident is not enough to cause historians to dismiss all of George Lincoln's assertions of contacts with the President. In Carpenter's book, *Six Months at the White House*, published a year before the article with the Seymour story, the Pollard Simmons anecdote appeared. In addition to the rail-splitting incident, George Lincoln had also repeated Simmons's story that Abraham Lincoln had refused a surveying job offered him by a Democratic appointee as surveyor. The future President was reputed to have said, "... I never have been under obligation to a Democratic administration, and I never intend to be so long as I can get my living another way." Carpenter asked the President whether the story were true, and he replied: "It is correct about our working together; but the old man must have stretched the facts somewhat about the survey of the county. I think I should have been very glad of the job at that time, no matter what administration was in power." Once again, George B. Lincoln was partly in error—but only partly. He seems to have been consistently guilty of repeating stories about Abraham Lincoln without checking his sources, but he may well have repeated accurately what he heard.

Without doubt, George B. Lincoln did have some contact with his more famous namesake. He had opportunities to visit Illinois as the representative of a New York dry goods firm. Carpenter himself saw George Lincoln in the President's office on the Sunday before Lincoln's reinauguration in 1865. And several letters in the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress prove that George B. Lincoln had occasional contacts with the President.

George Lincoln wrote his first letter to Abraham Lincoln on May 19, 1860, just after the Republican nominating convention. He congratulated the Republican nominee and chatted for a while about their common surname. An old Whig himself, the less famous Lincoln noted, "I have never known a Lincoln who was a Loco Foco! Not one—all have been Whigs to a man." In 1860, he claimed to have declared his faith in Abraham Lincoln's ability to gain the Republican nomination "East and West for near two years"—not, it should be noted, since 1856. He feared that Hannibal Hamlin "will not greatly improve the ticket anywhere that we need help—but it does not drag—we are safe." He closed the letter by saying, characteristically, "I am about sending to Father Simmonds at Havana for a couple of those 'Rails'!"

On September 22, 1860, George Lincoln wrote the nominee again, mentioning "our mutual friend [Shelby] Cullom," from whom the Brooklyn travelling salesman had obtained "some time ago a profile likeness of yourself—for which you kindly sat to gratify an enthusiastic young republican—an ex democrat) who desired to issue from it a campaign medal." George Lincoln sent by "your worthy neighbor Mr. Alvey," who was returning to Springfield, some presents to Abraham Lincoln's children: "a few specimens of the Medals—which are here considered the best which have been issued." "Please present them as complimentary from William Legget Bramhall and our two sons—lads—who are 'Lincolns too,'" he wrote jovially. He also sent photographs to the boys and to Mrs. Lincoln. He concluded the letter with observations on the political scene in New York. Central New York state was safe, the Know-Nothing vote was safe, the disappointment over Seward's loss of the nomination was largely abated, and the old Southern Whigs with whom he did business thought the Union would be safe in Abraham Lincoln's hands.

After the election George B. Lincoln sent the usual recommendations for office and letters of introduction for businessmen seeking favors. President Lincoln was still seeing correspondence from George Lincoln in 1864. Like almost all politicians in New York, the Brooklyn postmaster became embroiled in the patronage controversies surrounding the New York Custom House. The Lincoln administration's Indian

Commissioner, William P. Dole, visited New York early in 1864 to investigate the controversy. After his return, George Lincoln wrote to inform him of strong sentiment for the appointment of Simeon Draper as Collector. He said that Hiram Barney, the incumbent, was very unpopular. Though he made clear his own opposition to the interests of Salmon P. Chase, he did not stress Barney's alleged pro-Chase affinities as an objection to his continuance in office. He argued, rather, that Barney was very unpopular with merchants and that mercantile people did not want a lawyer as the Collector. Lincoln also mentioned in the letter the fact that he kept a bust of the President draped in a flag in his home in Brooklyn.

George B. Lincoln was a windy old bore. Of that there can be no doubt. His letter to Welles covered seven and one-half pages of paper. His affection for President Lincoln—which grew out of the coincidence of shared surnames—was genuine, however. He did have some close contacts with the Lincoln administration. Though he tended to be somewhat uncritical in repeating stories he heard about the President, George B. Lincoln might have known what he was talking about. From all evidence political bias did not account for his willingness to think the worst of Seward. After all, the opposition to Hiram Barney was led by the Seward-Weed wing of the Republican party in New York, and he had clearly been with Seward's men in that fight. George B. Lincoln's anecdotes may be questionable, but they certainly appear worthy of further investigation.



CABINET SERIES—No. 2.
LINCOLN'S "GUARDIAN ANGEL."

Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1863, by
J. HALL & Co., in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of
the United States for the Southern District of New York.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 4. As late as 1863, Seward still had a reputation as the strong man in the administration.

Lincoln's Cabinet

To the Editor:

I found George E. Reedy's review of Paul F. Boller Jr.'s "Presidential Campaigns" (July 15) interesting but somewhat disconcerting. It is unclear whether Mr. Boller or Mr. Reedy know who was in Lincoln's Cabinet. But for the record, Simon (not Silas) Cameron was Lincoln's Secretary of War, and not Secretary of the Treasury, as Mr. Reedy (or Mr. Boller) thinks. Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury was Salmon Portland Chase.

PAUL FINKELMAN
Binghamton, N.Y.

M.Y. James
Book Review 8/12/84

PAINTINGS OF LINCOLN AND CABINET

1. General Scott taking leave of the President and Cabinet

Engraved by J. Rogers expressly for Victor's History of the Rebellion

2. The Last Meeting of General Scott and the Cabinet

Reproduced in Harper's Magazine, also Coffin's Life of Lincoln, pp. 271

3. Lincoln and His Cabinet and General Scott

Painted by Schulessel, Copyrighted 1911 James Drummond Ball

4. President Lincoln and His Cabinet with General Grant in the Council Chamber of the White House

Published by Thomas Kelly, Printed by Spohny, Phila.

5. The Secretary of War Advocating an important Measure

Whipple's Story-Life of Lincoln, pp. 471

6. Lincoln's War-time Cabinet

Wright's Dramatic Life of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 282

Abraham Lincoln's Cabinet

Vice Presidents

Hannibal Hamlin (1861-65)
Andrew Johnson (1865)

Secretary of State

William H. Seward (1861-65)

Secretary of the Treasury

Salmon P. Chase (1861-64)
William P. Fessenden (1864-65)
Hugh McCulloch (1865)

Secretary of War

Simon Cameron (1861-62)
Edwin M. Stanton (1862-65)

Attorney General

Edward Bates (1861-64)
James Speed (1864-65)

Postmaster General

Montgomery Blair (1861-64)
William Dennison (1864-65)

Secretary of the Navy

Gideon Welles (1861-65)

Secretary of the Interior

Caleb B. Smith (1861-63)
John P. Usher (1863-65)

Chief Justice

Salmon Portland Chase (1864-73)

